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第一篇

TRANSACTIONS

AND

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE JAPAN SOCIETY, LONDON.

VOLUME VII.

FOURTEENTH SESSION, 1904-1905.

PART I.

"THE PHONETICS OF MODERN JAPANESE." By Ernest R. Edwards, Docteur de l'Université de Paris; Lecturer at University College, London, *M.J.S.*

"NOTES ON JAPANESE TEMPLES AND MONASTERIES." By Vaughan Cornish, D.Sc., F.R.G.S., F.G.S., F.C.S., *M.J.S.*

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"SOME REMARKS ON JAPANESE, CHIEFLY COMPARED WITH THE CHINESE LANGUAGE." By Kitsutaro Takahashi, "Attaché" Imperial Japanese Legation, Member of Council, *J.S.*

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THE JAPAN SOCIETY

LONDON,

20, *Hanover Square, W.*

(Constituted 28th January, 1892.)

PRESIDENT:
H.E. the Japanese Ambassador.

PROSPECTUS.

THE Object of the Japan Society is the Encouragement of the Study of the Japanese Language, Literature, History and Folk-lore, of Japanese Art, Science and Industries, of the Social Life and Economic Condition of the Japanese People, past and present, and of all Japanese matters. (*Statutes*, § 2.)

The Society consists of Members and Corresponding Members (the latter residing abroad).

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The Society holds Meetings at which Papers are read and Discussions take place on the subjects above indicated and other cognate matters interesting to those who have visited Japan, or who are concerned in that which relates to the Natural Products, Topography, Literature, Arts, Commerce, &c., of that Country.

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THE

SEVENTY-SIXTH ORDINARY MEETING,

(FIRST OF THE FOURTEENTH SESSION,)

NOVEMBER 9TH, 1904.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, London.*]

Mr. CHARLES HOLME, F.L.S. (*Chairman of Council, J.S.*), took the Chair at 8.30 P.M., when a Paper entitled, "THE PHONETICS OF MODERN JAPANESE," was read by Dr. ERNEST R. EDWARDS, M.J.S.

The CHAIRMAN said: Our meetings have commenced again, and I am pleased to say we have a very good programme for the ensuing session. The lecturer to-night thinks that his subject will be a dry one, but those of us who have been in Japan will find it will be a most interesting one, and I am hoping that we may have this evening a good discussion from some of our Japanese friends on the varied matter it contains.

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THE PHONETICS OF MODERN JAPANESE.

By Dr. Ernest Edwards,

Docteur de l'Université de Paris; Lecturer at University College, London, M.J.S.

INTRODUCTORY.

When, some time ago, our Honorary Secretary asked me to read a paper, I felt highly honoured, but I was bound to tell him that the only subject connected with Japanese on which I might speak with any sort of assurance was a special, not to say technical, subject, and one that did not lend itself easily to popular treatment. I must confess that at this point I thought that the suggested dryness would make our thoughtful officers somewhat anxious for their audience, and that I should not hear anything more about the matter. But immediately there came back a letter which implied, if it did not actually say, that the dryness of the subject only increased the thirst of the Japan Society for knowledge; with the result that you are going to be addressed as if you were in a class-room on a subject that, up to the present, has only interested a relatively small number of people, by one who is only accustomed to speak to small groups of students.

The first thing I shall do is to try to explain what is meant by the Phonetics of Modern Japanese.

My past experience has taught me that some explanation is necessary, as the following instance will show:—

Just before leaving Japan, after I had got together my material, I had the pleasure of taking afternoon tea with a certain lady living in one of the great ports of Japan. In the course of conversation my hostess asked me what exactly was

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the subject I had been investigating. I told her that the subject was called phonetics, and that it was a branch of the science of language, or philology. The lady rejoined with enthusiasm, "I'm so glad, then you will be able to tell me something about palmistry." Nor was this all. I went into explanations; and, as you will probably find out soon for yourselves, when I am interested in details my elucidations are apt to be a little involved. In the course of the explanation, my hostess heard the words "branch," "philology," "roots," whereupon she remarked, with kindly interest, "I suppose you are also taking home with you a collection of Japanese seeds?"

On that occasion the lecture on "The Phonetics of Modern Japanese" came to an abrupt end.

I think I may take it as being quite obvious that my present audience does not expect the subject to include palmistry or gardening.

I should like to explain next how I intend to treat the subject. My plan is this: First, to give an idea of what we mean by phonetics, and what its methods are; and afterwards to apply this to the analysis of Japanese, making comparisons, especially with English, as often as necessary. You will require a little patience to get through the first part, but I think you will see the necessity for the preliminary drudgery when we arrive at the Japanese section.

PHONETICS.

Phonetics is the science of speech-sounds. This requires a statement as to speech or language; and we may define language as the expression of thought by means of speech-sounds. On the one hand we have thought, the science of which is psychology, and on the other hand, speech-sounds, the consideration and general laws of which constitute the science of phonetics.

As to the history of the science, perhaps the first great phoneticians were the old Sanskrit grammarians, who certainly possessed an extraordinary knowledge of the analysis and representation of sounds. Also the Alexandrian teachers knew how to apply phonetics when they added those diacritics (unknown to the Greeks of the classical period) which we still keep in our Greek texts. But the modern development of phonetics is only

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about half a century old, and this science, which has reformed the whole study of language, ought to be of particular interest to the British public, because phonetics is the one solitary branch of philology in which England has added to the knowledge of the Continent.

One of the greatest achievements of modern science was the analysis of the vowel-sounds by Melville Bell, whose "Visible Speech" was published in 1867. And Bell had the good fortune to be followed by an Englishman much greater than himself, a man whose immense reputation on the Continent fills his unappreciative countrymen with wonder. I am referring, of course, to Henry Sweet of Oxford. So that if, by prolepsis, we include the Sanskrit grammarians and the Alexandrian teachers, we might almost be tempted to call this branch of philology an Imperial idea.

The next question is, what does this science do, and how does it set to work? Phonetics is chiefly concerned with the

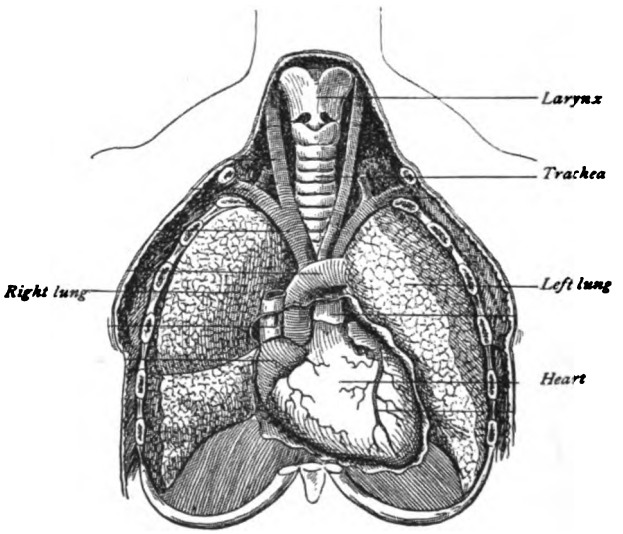

FIG. 1.

analysis of speech-sounds. As in other sciences, it is necessary to observe phenomena and to collect facts. The basis of phonetic analysis is, on the one hand, physiology, and on the other hand, acoustics.

You must allow me here to give you just the barest outlines

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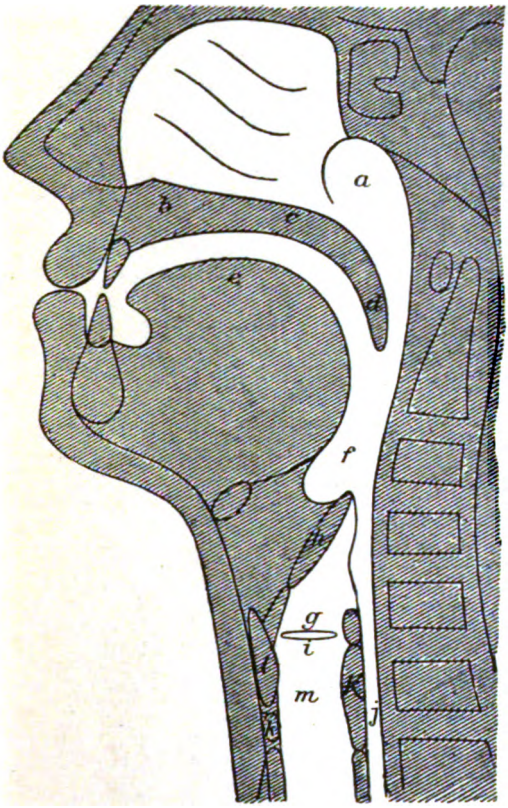
of this part of the subject, just sufficient, I hope, to explain what follows.

I shall try to give the necessary explanations in as untechnical and unprofessional language as possible.

The necessary beginning of speech-sounds is, of course, breathing. Inside a movable cage attached to the spinal column we



a, passage to nose.
b, front palate.
c, back palate.
d, uvula.
e, tongue.
f, pharynx.
g, glottis.
h, epiglottis.
i, vocal chords.
j, food passage.
kk, ring cartilage.
l, shield cartilage.
m, larynx.

FIG. 2.

have the lungs, a sort of pair of bellows, with the larynx for the nozzle (Fig. 1).

In this next figure you will see that there are a number of cartilages which form the larynx, the largest of which has the shape of a shield.

Below and behind it is another cartilage, which is something

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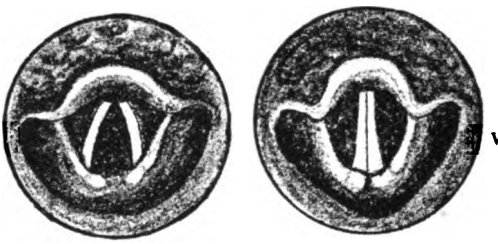
like a signet-ring, with the seal turned round. On the top of this broad part rest two small cartilages, like pyramids.

If you were to look down the throat, there would appear to be stretched across from the point of the large cartilage to the part where the two small arytenoid cartilages were, strong, band-like structures of white fibrous material extending front and back. These are what are called the vocal chords, the musical instrument of the voice. The actual instrument consists of two elastic plates stretched so as to leave a narrow fissure between them.

They are of the nature of a membranous reed, which throws into a state of vibration the air passing through.

During quiet breathing, the glottis, this space between the vocal cords, is a small triangular opening (see Fig. 3).

Quiet breathing.



Voice.

FIG. 3.

When this space is narrowed, the air passing through it from the lungs is thrown into a state of vibration, and the result is what we call voice.

This difference gives us at once a very important classification of speech-sounds, viz. the two divisions, *breath-sounds* and *voice-sounds.*

We shall see that all the consonants go in pairs of breath and voice.

As an example, take the first sound of "fine," and the first sound of "vine."

You can, by experiment, distinguish between this pair of sounds *f* and *v*.

(1) Place your finger on the part of the cartilage popularly called the "Adam's apple," and notice the difference.

(2) Put your hands over your ears, and for "v" the buzzing in your head will be unpleasantly distinct.

That is, in the case of the voice-sound "v," you have felt

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the vibrations which were absent in the case of the breath-sound "f."

We have had the bellows and the reed of the human musical instrument; the third part is the resonator, which is supplied by the spaces above the larynx, the cavities of the pharynx, nose, and mouth. Some of this part is easy to explore. The end of the resonator can be prolonged by the lips; behind that come the teeth, then the hard palate, which you can feel going back to the soft palate, which ends in something hanging between two arches. This part, the velum, ending in the uvula, can be moved so as to allow the air to pass through the mouth or the nose.

We can see here further possible classifications:—

The air can pass

(1) through the nose only, cf. "m" of "man,"
(2) through the mouth only, cf. "a" of "ask,"
(3) through nose and mouth at the same time, cf. ã (see the French vowel-chart).

Further, the breath or voice can be modified according to the shape and size of the space through which it passes.

These spaces are modified by different positions of the vocal organs, especially the tongue.

If I stop the breath at the lips I get the last sound of the word "cap"; if behind the teeth, the last sound of "cat"; if at the back of the palate, the last sound of "back," and so on.

This, then, gives us a physiological basis for our analysis. Similarly, there is an acoustic basis. This I shall not go into, but only suggest; so that when we talk of the sound "s," we mean—

First, the shape of the glottis, in this case open, because "s" is a breath-sound, and also the position of the tongue, the air being squeezed through just behind the teeth; and secondly, we also mean the hiss, the shrill, audible friction which is the result of sending the breath through the passage thus formed.

Taking the organic analysis, simply considering the position of the organs of speech, we can classify the sounds. And it is such a classification which you see on this chart:—

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		Bronchs.	Throat.	Uvula.	Back.	Front.	Tongue-point.	Lip.
CONSONANTS.	Stopped ...		ʔ	q G	k g	c ɟ	t d	p b
	Nasal ...				ŋ	ɲ	n	m
	Side ...				ɬ	ʎ	l	
	Trilled ...			ʀ R			r	
	Squeezed ...	H Q	h ɦ	ʁ R	(ʍ w) x ɣ	(ɥ) ç j	ɹ, θ ð, ʃ ʒ, s z	f v F ʋ ʍ w ɥ
VOWELS.	Close ...				u ɯ ü	ɪ y i		(u ü y)
	Half-close ...				ʊ	ʏ ɪ		(ʊ ʏ)
	Mid				o ʌ ö ë ø e			(o ö ø)
					ɔ ʌ ɔ̈ ä œ ɛ			(ɔ ɔ̈ œ)
	Half-open ...				ɐ	æ		
	Open ...				ɑ	a		

FIG. 4.

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We shall explain briefly those letters whose value is not self-evident:—

CONSONANTS.—The front-stops c, ɟ may be heard in rustic French in such words as *qui* ci, *gai* ɟe, or in Hungarian in *kotya*, *Magyar*.—q is the deep Arabic *qaf*.—ʔ is heard in coughing, and in the North-German pronunciation before accented initial vowels; it is the Danish *stød*, the Arabic *hamza*.

ɲ is the *gn* of French *montagne*, Italian *ragno*, Spanish *ñ*, Portuguese *nh*; ŋ, the English and German *ng* of *sing*.—ʎ is the Italian *gl* of *egli*, Spanish *ll*, Portuguese *lh*.—ɫ is the deep or "hard *l*" of Russian and Polish.—r is the Italian and Scotch point-trilled *r*; ʀ the uvular *r*, heard in Northumberland, and in many parts of France, Germany, etc.

ɸ β are lip-open consonants; ɸ is the sound we produce in blowing out a candle; β is the Spanish *b* or *v* between vowels, as in *saber*, and one variety of Dutch *w*.—w, the sound of English *watch*, is formed by narrowing the air-passage simultaneously between the lips and in the back of the mouth; ʍ is one variety of Northern English *wh*.—ɥ, the sound of French *u* in *buis*, is formed by narrowing the air-passage between the lips and in the front of the mouth.—θ ð stand for the two sounds of *th* in *thin*, *then*.—ɹ is an untrilled *r*, commonly heard in Southern English in *red*, *Mary*; the same sign is provisionally made to stand for the Spanish "soft *r*" in *pero*, which is a mere flap of the tongue.—ʃ ʒ are the sounds of *shame*, *azure*, French *ch*, *j*.—j is the English *y* in *yet*; ç is often heard in English *hue* hjuː or çuː, and is the regular consonant in German *ich*.—x is the sound in German *ach*, Scotch *loch*; ɣ is often heard in North German *wagen*, regularly in Dutch *loegen*.—χ is the deep Arabic *kh* in *khalifa*, often heard as a variety of Swiss German *ch* and Spanish *j*; ʁ is the Arabic *gh*, Danish *r*, often heard also as a variety of Parisian *r*. ɦ is the Arabic voiced *h*, sometimes heard in English instead of the common *h* between two vowels.—ħ and ʕ are the Arabic *kha* and *'aïn*.

VOWELS.—u is the *u* of Italian *uno*; ʊ the *o* of Swedish *bo*; o the close *o* of Italian *come*, French *côte*; ɔ the open *o* of Italian *notte*; ɑ the ɑ of French *pas*, ɒ that of French *patte*; æ the Southern English *a* in *pat*; ɛ the open *e* in Italian *piede*, French *fer*; e the close *e* in Italian *bene*, French *été*; ɪ the open *i* in Icelandic *vinur*; i the *i* in Italian or French *si*. ɯ is a vowel

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pronounced with the back of the tongue raised and the lips drawn out; ʌ is a variety of the vowel in English *but;* œ the vowel in French *peur*, ø that in French *peu*, ʏ the vowel in Icelandic *munur;* y the vowel in French *pu*.

ä, ë, ï, ö, ü, are mixed or intermediate sounds: ä the vowel in Southern English *fur*, ï that in Russian *syn*, ü that in Norwegian *hus*.

ə stands for any obscure vowel, like the first of English *again*. When it is found useful to distinguish *two* such vowels, the closer one may be written ə and the opener ɐ.

Nasalized vowels are marked thus: ã French *an*, ẽ French vowel in *pain*, ĩ Portuguese vowel in *fim*, etc.

QUANTITY, STRESS, PITCH.—Length of any sound is indicated by ˈ after the letter: thus *not* nɔt, *naught* nɔˈt.—Stress is marked, when necessary, by the sign ′ before the stressed syllable.—Pitch is marked thus: ˥ high, ˩ low, / rising, \ falling. No system of signs has yet been definitely adopted for languages such as Chinese in which word-tones are a significant element.

MODIFIERS.—Various devices make it possible to represent many shades of sounds not included in the alphabet. The following are the most important:—

The difference between a breath consonant, such as s, and its voiced correspondent, such as z, when not indicated by the shape of the letter, may be marked thus: l̬ voiced *l* (the usual sound), l̥ breath *l* (Welsh *ll*).—*Whispered* sounds may be marked thus: u̥, i̥.

Finally, some shades of sound may be marked by placing a small letter as exponent to a large one: thus $ʃ^{s}$ means a variety of ʃ rather resembling s.

It is necessary to have a written representation of the sound, and the most important rule we must follow in a scientific transcription is—one sound, one symbol.

It is obvious that the traditional English spelling, for instance, will not do. Compare "arm," "ash," "again," where the same symbol means three different sounds, and "pare," "pear," "pair," where the same sounds have three different representations.

This list of symbols represents the general sound-scheme. The vowels are placed in that order because they represent different positions of the tongue. If the tongue is advanced as

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much as possible and is kept as high as possible, without causing audible friction, we have "i" as in French "si." The tongue is hollowed, and the back of it is raised for "u," as in German "du." The tongue is in the lowest position for "a," as in English "ask." This gives us three more or less fixed points for starting our analysis. The intermediates are "e," "o," and represent intermediate positions of the tongue.

Then considering the lips: the lips with the front vowels are generally in a slit form, but with the back vowels they are rounded. Such vowels are called normal. We call abnormal vowels those for which this process is reversed; for instance, if the tongue is forward in the position for "i," and the lips are rounded as if for "u," the result is "y," the French sound in "vu."

Similarly, if the tongue is in a back position, but the lips instead of being rounded are more or less neutral, we have abnormal back vowels, as in English "ʌ" of "cut." Also the Japanese *u* in *tsuru* (stork), *kuru* (to come) is abnormal.

To turn to the consonants: these are arranged horizontally according to the manner in which they are formed, and vertically according to the place where they are formed. Some are formed by bringing the organs together and suddenly parting them with a sort of explosion, as in "cap," "cab," etc. And the place where they are formed can extend from the lips, teeth, front palate, back palate, uvula, to the throat (see Fig. 2).

Such a scheme is a general scheme which represents the sounds of many languages. There are some twenty-five sounds of the vowel class, and some fifty of the consonant class. No language uses them all. Many languages distinguish in speech about a dozen vowels and about twice that number of consonants. And each language has its own characteristics. Every language has certain general tendencies which govern its organic movements and positions, constituting its basis of articulation.

In *English* we (1) flatten, (2) lower, (3) hollow, (4) draw back the tongue, and (5) keep the tongue neutral.

In *French* the tongue is (1) arched, (2) raised, (3) advanced, and (4) the lips articulate with energy.

The *Japanese* characteristics are as follows: The tongue is (1) advanced, (2) raised, (3) flattened, (4) the muscles of the tongue are as a rule slack, (5) the lips remain as often as possible in the

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neutral position, and (6) the corners of the mouth are kept slightly apart, leaving a slit just wide enough to show the teeth.

As a result of these tendencies, (1) rounded sounds are scarce, (2) the closure of the labials is often incomplete, (3) dentilabial consonants do not occur.

It is probable that both Japanese and English lose in clearness, in distinctness, as compared with French, by the comparative inactivity of the lips.

The back of the tongue in Japanese is particularly slow in its movements; while, on the contrary, the front of the tongue changes position very easily.

The vertical movements of the tongue are distinct and well-marked, in this respect very different from English, as we can notice by comparing the long vowels in the two languages; in English most of our long vowels are really dipththongs—

(1) ij in "see,"
(2) ei in "say,"
(3) ou in "no,"
(4) uw in "shoe;"

that is, in English the tongue passes on to a second position. If you think this improbable, ask a Frenchman's opinion on your Oh, an Italian's opinion on your Como, a Japanese his opinion on your pronunciation of Tokyo.

In Japanese, even when the length is exaggerated, the pure vowel position is kept. Hear a Japanese in doubt say *anoː oː*, or *soː des neː*, with no inclination to make a diphthong. Further, a common position of the jaw is such that the upper teeth are slightly in advance of the lower teeth. The result is that here is a space which favours the pronunciation of front sounds, so that the movements of the back of the tongue and of the lips become less necessary; a Japanese hardly needs to alter this position to pronounce the whole series of sounds:—

tʃ, ts, t, d, k, g, ʃ, ʒ, s, z, ç,

that is, about half the consonants in his scheme. (See the Japanese Consonant Scheme.)

All these tendencies make Japanese a very supple language, but less distinct than, say, French or Italian. However, this

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want of clearness in one category of sounds is largely compensated by the great use that is made of quantity; *to* (door) is clearly distinguished from *to:* (ten), *ana* (hole) from *anna* (such); so *tori* (bird), *to:ri* (street), *tori:* (kind of gateway outside a temple).

Vowel Scheme.

A comparative table of the Japanese, French, German, and English vowels.

	French.	*Japanese.*
	back — front	back — front
close	u — y i	i
		u [ɪ]
	o — ø e	o — e
	ɔ̃ — ə	ɔ — ɛ
	ɔ — œ ɛ	
	œ̃ ɛ̃	
	a	
open	ɑ ɑ̃	ɑ

	English.	*German.*
	back — front	back — front
close	u (w) — i (j)	u — y i
	ù — ì	ù — ỳ i
	o (u) — e (i)	o — ø e
		ə
	ʌ	ɔ — œ ɛ
	ɔ̀ — ə — ɛ (ə)	
	æ	ɑ
	ɔ — a	
open	ɑ	

Fig. 5.

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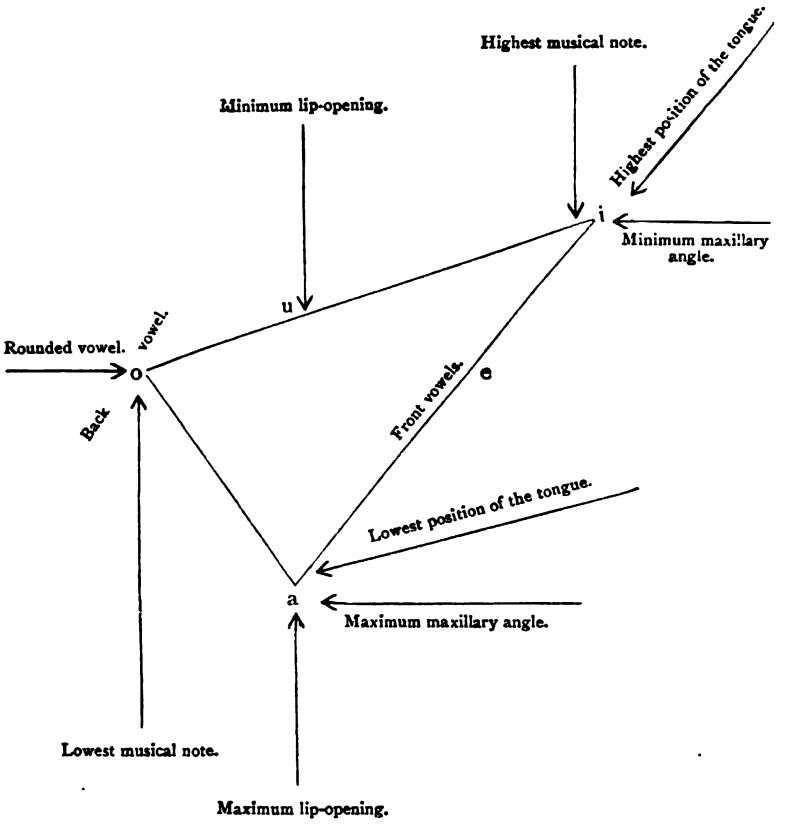
On comparing the Japanese Vowel Scheme with the General



POSITION OF THE TONGUE FOR THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE JAPANESE VOWELS.

Short vowels.	Long vowels.
ki (tree).	**i:** (good).
ke (hair).	**e:ŋo** (the English language).
ka (mosquito).	**sa:** (now then!)
ko (child).	**mo:** (more).
ku (nine).	**ku:** (to eat) [fressen].

EXAMPLES OF JAPANESE VOWELS.

FIG. 6.

Scheme, and with the English vowels, we may say that the English system is a complicated one, and that the Japanese is

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well-defined (it is not unlike the Spanish system, due allowance being made for the differences in the bases of articulation). The half-closed sounds e, ɛ, and o, ɔ, do not represent significant differences in Japanese, as, for instance, in French, where "pécher" is distinguished from "pêcher;" in Japanese one can hear *tɛ:koku* (empire) and *te(i)koku*, *ʃizɔ:ka* and *ʃiz(u)oka*. We have already noticed that the back vowel *u* in Japanese differs somewhat from the vowel *u* in French *vous*.

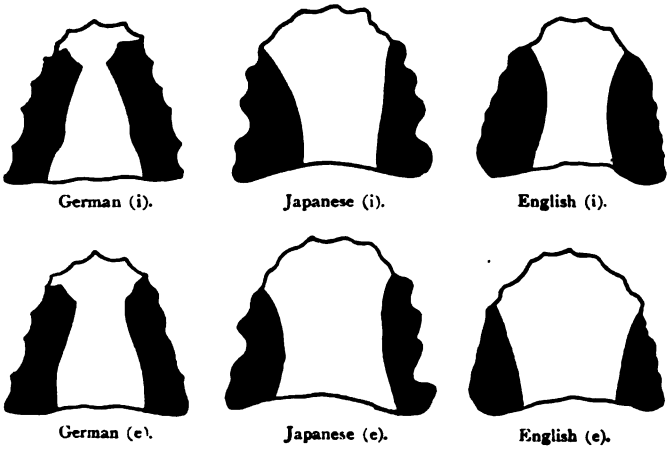

FIG. 7.—ARTIFICIAL-PALATE TRACINGS.
(The black shows the part of the palate touched by the tongue when the vowels "i" and "e" are pronounced.)

Turning to the *consonants*, we notice first that two classes of these sounds are missing; we see that the top line, the plosives, are similar to the English ones—they are not quite the same, as we saw when we considered the bases of articulation.

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The Japanese Consonants in Combination with the Vowels.

	Guttural.	Palatal.		Lingual.	Labial (bilabial).
		Back.	Front.		
Plosive		ko ka ku ke ki go ga gu ge gi		ta da to do te de	pa ba po bo pu bu pe be pi bi
Nasal		—ŋ̊ ŋo ŋa ŋu ŋe ŋi	[ɲi] [ɲi]	ni na no ne nu	ma mo mu me mi
Fricative	he ha ho	[xa] [xo]	çi tçi ja jo je ju ji ç/i	ra ro ri re ru tʃi sa za ʃi ʒi so zo ʃa ʒa su zu ʃo ʒo se ze ʃu ʒu tsu	ɸu wa

Fig. 8.

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A Comparative Table of Consonants.

	Japanese.					English (London and South).				
	Guttural.	Palatal. Back.	Palatal. Front.	Lingual.	Labial.	Guttural.	Palatal. Back.	Palatal. Front.	Lingual.	Labial.
Plosive ...		k g		t d	p b		k g		t d	p b
Nasal ...		ŋ̊ ŋ	[ɲ]	n	m		ŋ		n	m
Lateral ...							•		l	
Fricative ...	h	[x]	ç j	r (= ɹ) s z ʃ ʒ	f (= F) w	h		j	ɹ s z ʃ ʒ θ ð	f v w

	French.						German.					
	Guttural.	Uvular.	Palatal. Back.	Palatal. Front.	Lingual.	Labial.	Guttural.	Uvular.	Palatal. Back.	Palatal. Front.	Lingual.	Labial.
Plosive ...	[ʔ]		k g		t d	p b	ʔ		k g		t d	p b
Nasal ..				ɲ	n	m			ŋ		n	m
Lateral ...					l						l	
Trilled ...		R			r			R			r	
Fricative ...	[h]	ʀ		j	s z ʃ ʒ	f v w ɥ	h		x q	ç j	s z ʃ ʒ	f v

Fig. 9.

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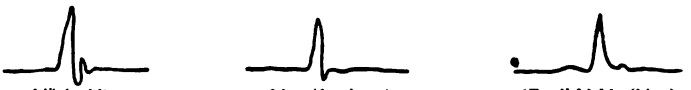
In the next line, the nasals, the lip-sound (m), the sound formed first behind the teeth (n), and the ordinary back palatal sound (ŋ) (sing, song), are again similar to the English. This last, the sound in *tamaŋo* (egg), differs in this from English that it can begin a syllable. This may seem very unimportant, but experiment will prove otherwise. We have no difficulty in saying "cupful," but an English child often has a long task before him before he can pronounce the German words "Pfund," "Pferd;" so we have the sound ŋ at the end of syllables in "sing," "sang," but it will require practice for an Englishman to pronounce *ŋa* (the particle "ga") and *kanaŋawa* (Kanagawa).



kiŋ̊ (gold) kiŋu (furniture) (English) kiŋ (king)

FIG. 10.—TRACINGS ON A REVOLVING CYLINDER.

The next sound, which appears as ŋ̊, is not only a very difficult one for foreigners to pronounce, but a difficult one to analyze. I mean by it the last sound in the word "gold," *kiŋ̊*.

French writers have thought they recognized their own nasal vowels, so that *saŋ̊* (3) is the same as "cent" (100).

For my own part, I have taken it to be a variety of the breath counterpart to the voice ŋ, but with little or no after-sound (what is technically called the off-glide).

This is one of the four most difficult sounds in Japanese. The first was the back vowel *u*, this last sound of *kiŋ̊* makes the second, and we have two more to come.

You will notice that Japanese has this in common with Southern English—that there are no trilled sounds, as in French *rare*. This sound exists in Scotch-English pronunciation of "first," "bird."

Very exceptionally this trilled sound is heard in Japan. There was a popular song about a strike at Shinonome, which the street-boys of Tokyo used to sing in the winter of 1901. It began—

"ʃinonome no sʉtɹaiki,"

which the street-boys made—

"sʉtraiki."

Of the last line, the fricatives, seven of the sounds are not unlike the English ones.

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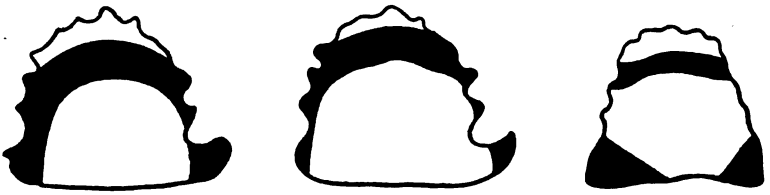
I shall only consider two sounds here. The first is "F," of *Futatsù*, which differs from *f* the first sound of "fine" in English, by being pronounced with both lips, whereas the English sound is made between the upper teeth and the lower lip.

The last of the difficult sounds is the sound which is in some cases very like the first sound of the English words, "right," "red;" the untrilled sound corresponding to the trilled *r*.

But it requires careful study in Japanese, because its position varies slightly, according to the vowel which follows.



(ru) Japanese (ri) Japanese (r) French

FIG. 11.

With the front vowel *i* and the front consonant *j*, it almost becomes *d*; cf. *ri* (measure of distance), *rjo*: (dragon); whereas when followed by *o*, it often approaches the lateral *l*; cf. *roku*.

(ro) Japanese (l) French

FIG. 12.

When trying to reproduce these Japanese sounds, or any other sounds which are new to the system of your mother-tongue, you must remember that we all have a tendency to substitute some sound in our own system which bears some organic or acoustic similarity to the new sound. An Englishman usually calls the great mountain fuwdʒij, or fjuwdʒl.

Let us also consider the effect of the Japanese basis of articulation on English words.

During the past forty years a certain small number of English words have been borrowed by the Japanese.

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I shall not go again into a detailed comparison, but let us take the respective vowel-systems. Our present Southern English system of vowels is a complicated one, containing from twelve to sixteen sounds, some of which do not seem well defined and well separated, except to an Englishman. A series like—

ɔ of n*o*t
ʌ of b*u*t
ə: of b*ir*d
ə of *a*gain

or the æ of m*a*n and the middle *e* of m*e*n; these are not easy for a foreigner to distinguish.

Now, the Japanese make use of only five well-defined vowels, great use being made of quantity or length, to make up for the want of differences in quality.

With words containing the well-separated fundamental vowels, *i, e, a, o, u,* the borrowed words have passed in without serious alteration, so that when "ink" and "book" were borrowed to represent European ink and European books they became *iŋki* and *bukku.*

But when we come to the vowels of the less well-defined series, we shall see a change of the very kind I want to point out. Take the words "tunnel," "shirt," and "button," and we find they have become *tonneru, ʃatsu,* and *botaŋ*; that is, our intermediate sounds have been levelled with the nearest vowels in the Japanese system—*o, a.*

We have only considered hitherto a small part of the *analysis* of the sounds, the sounds considered singly.

There is an equally important part, the *synthesis,* which tells us how sounds are joined together.

Of this part, I can only attempt to take two or three sections. Let us consider first what are technically called *glides.* Strictly speaking, every sound is made up of three parts: the first stage, when the organs are getting into position for making the sound; the second stage, the principal stage, when the required position has been reached; and then the third stage, when the organs are leaving that position.

The first stage we may call an on-glide, and the last stage an off-glide. You can hear the difference of off-glide when a

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Frenchman (or, more likely, a Frenchwoman), says "la robe," and compare that with the English "rob;" or when a German says "er tat," compare it with English "tart." These may seem unimportant, but at least the history of sounds has shown us otherwise.

A form "pund" was pronounced by one set of people with a strong off-glide, "p(h)und," by another set with a weak glide, with the result that in English we have the word "pound," and the German "pfund," where the glide has developed into a full sound.

So also the on-glide of "*scribere*," > "*iscrire*," > "*escrire*," > "*écrire*."

Now to apply this to Japanese. We shall find that, as a rule, the Japanese consonants are followed by a strong off-glide, with the result that final consonants scarcely exist in Japanese.

If we take some borrowed words which originally ended in consonants, we shall see that the glide in Japanese has developed into full vowels—

"frock coat" has become *furokku ko:to*,
"tunnel" „ „ *tonneru*;

and I believe I am right in saying that the words *doku* (poison) and *koku* (country) were originally monosyllables borrowed from China, *dok* and *kok*.

The second point we shall consider in this section is *intonation*, or change of tone.

Most languages make use of an ascending tone to ask questions: English, "What?" French, "Il est là?"

The peculiarity of the question tone in Japanese is that the high tone is not on the last syllable of the sentence, but generally on the last syllable but one if it is stressed. The last syllable in a question is generally the question particle *ka*.

We get

ari⌈mas ⌊ka (are there any?)
arima ⌈seŋ ⌊ka (ar'n't there any?)
ki⌈maʃta ka (has he come?)

where the highest note is not on *ka*.

The question of intonation in Japanese is, of course, nothing like so important as it is in Chinese, where so many words are distinguished simply by the difference of tone.

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This may be done in a few words in Japanese, but this is a point which is under investigation, and I am hoping to hear some interesting results from my friend, Professor Okakura.

In a Japanese sentence the interval between the highest and lowest notes is less than in French. Whereas the changes of tone, the transitions from a high note to a low one, or from a descending tone to an ascending tone, are more sudden and more marked than in English.

The question of intonation in Japanese verse also presents many difficulties, as you will see from the following examples:—

Examples of Modern Recitation of Classical Verse.

(Type A)—

ʃi̥ʃkiʃima ⌊no
jaʃmato ŋokoro o\
çi̥to toʃwaba
asaçi/ni nio:\
jaʃmazakurabana\

(Type B)—

ʃi̥kiʃʃima no\
jaʃmato ŋokoro o
çi̥ʃto towaba\
asaʃçi ni ni⌊o:
ʃjamazakurabana.\

(Motoori.)

(Were one to ask, to what shall I liken the soul of Old Japan: it is the mountain cherry-blossom lit up by the morning sun.)

(Type A)—

taʃma no o jo\
taena/ba taʃene
naŋaʃraeba\
ʃinoʃburu koto no\
joʃwari ⌊mo zo suru.\

(Type B)—

ʃtama no o jo\
taenaba/taene
naʃŋaraeba\
ʃinoburu/koto no
joʃwari mo zo suru.\

(Princess Shikiko.)

(Compare Tennyson's "O breaking heart that will not break.")

Fig. 13.

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The last point I shall take is in connection with *sound-changes.* We shall see that examples taken from modern Japanese may be of very great service to us in some linguistic problems.

I ought to explain to some of those present that our views on sound-changes have altered a good deal of late years. At one time, in the days of the old philology, based on the written language only, people seemed to think that changes of sound were made suddenly. I don't know whether they supposed that at a given moment in a language people tapped each other on the shoulder and said, "Remember, to-morrow we no longer say 'wīn,' but 'wəin;'" then, later, "We no longer say 'wəin,' but 'wain' (wine)."

One of the axioms of modern philology is that language is always changing—making small changes, not very striking in themselves, until the total effect of several of these small changes is observed.

Let us suppose a case like this (compare the general vowel scheme):—

kreː
krei
krəi
krɔi
kroi
kroe
krue
krwe
krwɛ
krwæ
krwa
krwɑ

Any two consecutive ones are mutually intelligible; but the change from first to last through many generations is very marked. I only put down this example to give some sort of idea of the line of argument.

There is one set of changes, due to what is called Palatalization, which troubled the philologists for a long time; this is the effect of the front vowels and the consonant *j* on preceding sounds.

For instance: a form "bruggjo" ended in being "Brücke," and "bridge."

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It is possible that a study of palatalized forms in Japanese alone would prove the case for palatalization. We have in Japanese very commonly the combinations "ta," "te," "to;" but in the case of the front vowel we have corresponding to these a palatalized form "tʃi" instead of "ti;" so also "sa," "se," "so," but "ʃi" instead of the corresponding "si" (see Fig. 8).

However, we are only just now at the very beginning of the application of the study of Japanese philology to the wider questions of general philology and to the problems of the science of language, and I, for one, am looking forward to the time when students of the science of language in the universities of Japan will polish up this rough pioneer's work, and will give the world the benefit of a complete analysis of their mother-tongue.

Professor RIPPMANN said: It is with a feeling of some hesitation that I speak—sandwiched, as it were, between two great authorities, and I am the dry bread between what is important and valuable. My knowledge of Japanese phonetics is deplorably slight, but I am greatly interested in their study. There has been great need for it, particularly in this country, where we labour under the difficulty of an extremely unpleasant spelling, as the Japanese do also. We suffer as much from our disgraceful spelling as if we had a year's compulsory military service, and we find the results of this system deplorable. In the learning of modern languages our children have acquired bad articulation, as the modern language-teacher does not trouble to inculcate good habits of articulation. He does not realize that he should, in the first place, obtain some idea of the essential differences between the two languages, and then he can make them clear to his pupils. You may assume that no one speaks a language worse than he can help. He does not do it intentionally. But they do not know the difference between the pronunciation of English and French. In order to teach our English children, a teacher should know something about the Cockney dialect, for it is the tendency of our children to speak Cockney, even in well-educated homes.

I feel justified in speaking because of my affection for Japan and things Japanese, which dates from before the present period of Japanese popularity. Now it is a fashionable thing to like Japan, to write articles on Japan, and to publish books on Japan. But this popularity has its dangers: we want something better than that—an attempt to understand its civilization, which is different from our own. Where can I find such knowledge? Now a certain amount can be obtained from the works of Lafcadio Hearn and Dr. Edwards and other Japanese

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friends, yet I want more, and there are many thinking English people who are not satisfied with the superficial impressions of "six weeks in Japan." I should like to thank Dr. Edwards for his most interesting paper.

Mr. OKAKURA, M.J.S., said: I take it to be rather unkind of the chairman and Dr. Edwards to call upon me to say something about the phonetics of our language, of which Dr. Edwards has given us such a complete description, and I do not know how to add anything of importance to what has been said. The only thing I can do will be to return my hearty thanks for what he has done in the field of Japanese phonetics, and I am very certain that Dr. Edwards has given such a complete description of the language that there are no gleanings left for a poor Japanese. In seconding a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Edwards, who has done such great service to our language in general, I might just say a few words about intonation, of which he spoke in his lecture: a word to the wise, or I would be troubling you with much talk about nothing. The study of phonetics is one of my favourite subjects. I was in France for three months at the Paris University for the study of phonetics, and I began my researches by using a false palate, made of celluloid instead of gum, and that substance, because of its thinness, makes it easier to register changes of sounds, for there is no sense of a foreign matter in the mouth. Now, by the use of this false palate and the use of this machine,[1] I have tried to ascertain that much-spoken-of but not very well known distinction of intonation. It is true that the Chinese have four so-called tones of musical intonation. For instance, a sound like "An" can be pronounced in four different ways, according to the required word; and there is something like that instance in our language, but not in the sense that there are four tones, as in Chinese. We have a kind of musical intonation. Briefly let me describe how I tried to get traces on the tube with smoked paper. There are monosyllables of the same structure as *su*, for example, meaning a "bird's-nest," and also "vinegar;" so "to pour vinegar" would be in Japanese one sound, while "to make a nest" would be another, and perhaps your keen ears could distinguish the musical difference which exists between the two *su*. But even for trained ears it is a matter of uncertainty, and to be sure of the distinction I speak through this mouthpiece, and with its help you can easily register the results of your nasalization. I worked many days with that instrument, and the result was that we noticed always a difference of ascending stages between two sorts of sounds, and we divided the small waves that we got on the paper into so many portions to the number we got in a second. For example, in a word meaning "bones" I got 260 vibrations in a second, and 230

[1] A machine was exhibited by the Lecturer for registering sounds by means of a pointer tracing marks on smoked paper.

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in the other case; and so in one case you have 40 to 60 vibrations more, which proves that in one case the pitch is higher, and so I tried many languages.

Let me just mention another example, which I tried with the syllable *ku*, meaning either "nine" or "bitterness." In the case of *ku* (nine) I slur it, and put no accent on it, so far as my pronunciation is concerned, and thus you distinguish the two *ku*. I think it certain now that what we call musical intonation is really the difference of flats and sharps. Any accompanying sounds which I feel when I pronounce accented *ku* is that half-opening of my vocal cords. There are three different ways: in breathing, my vocal cords are quite open, and in pronouncing my vowels they are shut, but there is an intermediate state when I whisper, and there are different shades of opening and closing. I always feel a kind of half-closing of the vocal cords in pronouncing *ku*.

Mr. KATO, M.J.S., wished to know if this study would be valuable for the welfare of their country. Did not the rise of any nation always make her tongue the dominant one? He thought the Japanese must retain their peculiarities, and that they should insist upon the practice of using the Japanese language.

A hearty Vote of Thanks to the Lecturer was proposed, and carried unanimously.

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THE

SEVENTY-SEVENTH ORDINARY MEETING,

(SECOND OF THE FOURTEENTH SESSION,)

DECEMBER 14TH, 1904.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, London.*]

Mr. CHARLES HOLME (*Chairman of Council, J.S.*) took the Chair at 8.30 P.M., when a Paper, entitled "NOTES ON JAPANESE TEMPLES AND MONASTERIES," was read by VAUGHAN CORNISH, D.SC., F.R.G.S., F.G.S., F.C.S., M.J.S.

The Chairman, in opening the Meeting, stated that not only had the Lecturer visited all the religious houses about which he was about to speak, but he had been able to take a large number of photographs which would be shown on the screen, and would add materially to the interest of the Paper.

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NOTES ON JAPANESE TEMPLES AND MONASTERIES.

By VAUGHAN CORNISH, D.Sc., F.R.G.S., F.G.S., F.C.S., M.J.S.

WHEN I was honoured by an invitation to read a paper before this Society, I ventured to stipulate that I should not be called upon to give a learned paper, and I ask the indulgence of the meeting for a very simple narrative.

Last year (1903) my wife and I visited Japan for the first time, and spent three months in the country. It takes some little time to get one's bearings where all is so different to the Western World, and to the Mohammedan countries of the Nearer East. My own speciality lies in the direction of physical science; but it was not long before I realized that I should learn most of Nature in Japan by studying its expression in that country's art, amidst its own environment; and most of human nature in that country by observing its interpretation through the religion of the people. Both the art and religion of Japan are most readily studied in the temples and monasteries, and in their sacred groves and symbolic gardens; hence I spent much of my time in and about their precincts, taking photographs of what appealed to me personally. I propose to show some of these this evening, and will endeavour to express some of the facts and feelings which their subjects appear to teach and to evoke.

I pass by the first few days in the busy port of Kobé, and at Ōsaka and its exhibition. Here we learnt much, but did not yet feel the charm of the country. I begin, therefore, at Kyōto, the ancient capital, where we arrived in the darkness of a wet night. Next morning we had not left our hotel gates for more than a few minutes before we realized, as by a sudden illumination, the glory of Japan, and nothing that happened afterwards effaced, or reversed, the impression of those wonderful first hours among

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the temples beyond Kyōto, on the north-eastern side of the city. Here, embowered in sacred groves of great pine trees, are some of the most famous temples, monasteries, and symbolic gardens of the country [Fig. 1, Plate I.]. Away from the turmoil of the city, yet nowise neglected or forgotten, lie these homes of piety and of perfect art. Who would imagine that buildings of wood could tower not less majestically than our own cathedrals of stone, that the images and rites of an alien religion could at once suffuse the mind with holy calm, or that the trained trees of monastic gardens could appear even more beautiful than those of the forest? Yet so it is in these sacred precincts: nature, art, and religion are blended and interwoven in a manner which has perhaps not been known in the West since the days of ancient Greece.

One of the most perfect buildings was the Honenin Monastery, not a large one, nor apparently much visited by strangers. Here the countenance of the Buddhist monks bore plainly the stamp of good breeding, and in their faces was that look of greater strength which scholarship gives to the religious recluse.

In this temple's precincts is a strange form of gardening, not with flowers, but with sand, beds of this material being arranged with due regard to the proportional spacing of the area, and upon their smoothed surface conventional representations of waves, of the rays of the rising sun, and of other natural objects of symbolic significance are daily traced [Fig. 2, Plate I.]. Great skill is shown in this art of drawing in sand (a coarse-grained sand upon which slight rain does not spoil the pattern), and the Japanese who visit the monastery are evidently connoisseurs in the art, and capable of appreciating the decorative value of the designs. Their symbolic significance would probably be known only to the erudite, as is the case with the symbolism of our own sacred art. Without the aid of colours I cannot hope to show the excellent effect these plots of silver-grey sand, with their formal decorations, produced amidst their verdant surroundings of mossy walls, bamboo grove, and the delicate tracery of the trained pine trees. Sand-structures are also used in the symbolic garden of Ginkakuji near by, which dates from the fifteenth century. The photograph [Fig. 1, Plate II.] shows both the Sand-Mound-facing-the-Moon and the Sea-of-Silvery-Sand. I wish to draw attention to the way in

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which I took this photograph. I was standing on the balcony of the first floor of the Silver Pavilion, and I directed the camera somewhat downwards. It is a way I have of photographing, and you will notice that the result is rather like that of Japanese landscape pictures, where the artist supposes himself to be placed aloft so as to get a more comprehensive view.

A wet day sent us to the palace of the Shōgun and that of the Mikado. The former is quite a revelation to the new-comer, who only knows Japanese interiors and decorations on the familiar scale, which is small to us. Here we have the same plan of house—a single story, sliding-screens, matted floors, wood as constructive material, but all upon a magnificent scale, and the decorative paintings on the sliding-panels, and the carvings of the ventilating screens above them, are amongst the finest artistic products in the world.

Excepting the Vatican, we had never seen such a palace of perfection. Indeed, I can only compare the mental effect of our short visit to Kyōto to that of a first visit to Rome. In both is found a revelation of beauty, and a sense as of the sudden presence of a great wisdom.

Knowledge slowly imbibed from books, an easy but diluted source of learning, brings no such exaltation of the mind as accompanies the intoxicating draught of these concentrated experiences. They are, however, rare indeed, even to the traveller. I think they are only produced by *perfect* things, of which there are not so very many in the world.

The Mikado's palace, unlike that of the Shōgun, is severe through the simplicity enjoined by sacred tradition. Everything has a meaning and a significance, in itself and in its relation to its surroundings. Nothing must be changed, everything must be as it always has been, and therefore there can be no enrichment and decoration beyond that already sanctioned in less florid times.

Sunday, March 22nd, being the holiday connected with the Spring Festival of the Imperial Ancestors (Shiunki-Kworei-Sai, March 20th), a long afternoon was spent passing from one popular temple to another in the great city among vast crowds of foot passengers holiday-making at all the sacred picnic places. This is very different to the relations between religious observances and holiday-making in England now, although not

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Fig. 1.—THE SAMMON ENTRANCE GATE OF NANZENJI TEMPLE, KYŌTO.

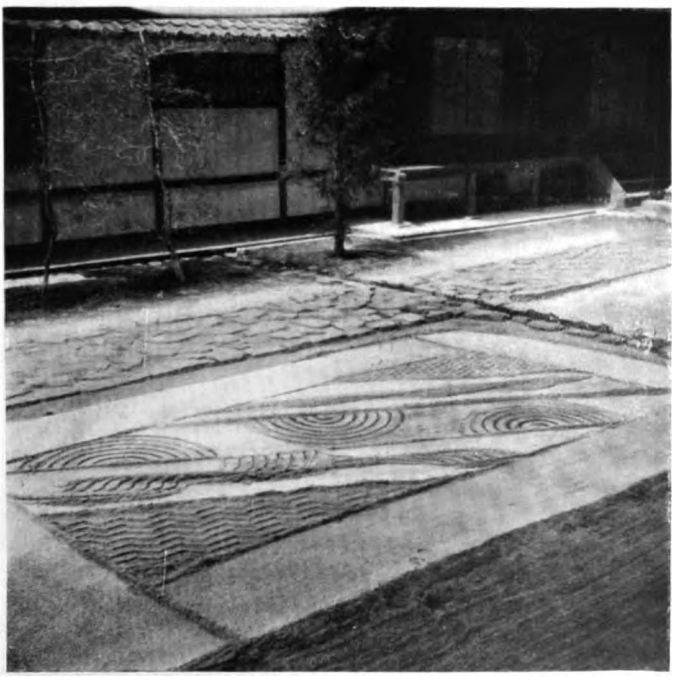

Fig. 2.—SYMBOLIC GARDEN OF GINKAKU-JI, KYŌTO.

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Fig. 1.—SYMBOLIC GARDEN, GINKAKU-JI, KYŌTO.

Fig. 2.—CEMETERY OF EIKWANDO TEMPLE, KYŌTO.

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so different from those of England in the Middle Ages, and I suppose greatly resembling the holidays of ancient Greece and Rome. I confess that it was the most delightful holiday-making I ever saw—brighter even than the environs of Paris on a fine Sunday in May. April is the great month of pilgrimage now in Kyōto, as it was in England when Chaucer wrote—

"Than longen folk to go on pilgrimàges."

A few days later, steaming from Kobé to Yokohama, we sighted the cone of Fuji, at a distance of nearly one hundred miles, now all snow-capped, but, later in the summer, itself a noted place of pilgrimage for sturdy walkers, for whom I suppose there is also a sense of sporting achievement, similar to that which our climbers enjoy in their secular pilgrimages to the Eiger or the Wetterhorn.

Yokohama is a different world from Kyōto, but to any one interested in phases of our own national life, it is by no means to be hurried over. The life of the English in the settlement is absolutely distinct from the stream of Japanese life. The driving road which runs the length of the Bluff, winding among the western villas with their tennis lawns, is crossed at intervals by the steep roads which connect the Japanese Yokohama with the villages to the south. At these four cross roads I used to stand and watch the crossing streams of the Yellow and the White, which mingle no more than do oil and water. But, however interesting may be these unusual aspects of Western life in Japan, and however wonderful the Japanese adaptation of Western inventions, I found their study to be but the continuation of the forms of thought which one associates with the necessary but somewhat wearisome routine of keeping abreast of political changes. It was too much like the foreign intelligence of one's daily paper to be altogether enjoyable. Moreover, these relations of the White and Yellow are most tiresomely debateable matters, and I soon found at Yokohama, as elsewhere in Japan, that the most profitable as well as the most pleasant way to learn things really worth learning was to frequent the temples. Those near the Bluff and at Negishi, where I mostly went, are not national shrines like those of Kyōto, but simple parish churches (as we should say) in some cases, and in others small

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shrines which are placed to command the loveliest views, so that the admiration of Nature may blend with the more explicit acts of devotion. I used to go alone to the Myokoji Temple at the Bluff village, seat myself, somewhat aloof, on the mats, keep very still and quiet (instead of going about the temple sight-seeing), and watch the things that happened. It is not a show-place, and I never saw a Western face there, though visitors do come occasionally. Here all goes on exactly as it did before the coming of the Western nations; this aspect of the people's life is unchanged, and the picture presented to the eye during the little services, when, for instance, the members of a family attend to dedicate the tablet which will be erected as a monument in the cemetery, have that perfection of picturesqueness which is only attained where there is no single element of incongruity. If one thinks of it, this is partly why the things of what is called "Old Japan" approach the perfection of picturesqueness. During the course of several centuries incongruous things came so seldom to the country that (if not simply rejected) there was ample time for suitable adaptation or modification into harmony with the surroundings. Artificial selection, like natural selection, will only ensure the survival of the fittest, if the process be sufficiently slow to allow of adaptation to change of environment. Railways and other inventions do not now give us time to assimilate, or to select from, the host of incongruous things which every country dumps into every other country, so that each destroys the picturesqueness of the other [Fig. 1, Plate III.].

At these services refreshments are sometimes served. It is very quaint to see a little girl of less than three years old cast incense into the brazier, performing decorously, under her mother's guidance, the act of propitiation, after which, returning to her place on the mats, she is rewarded with sweetmeats brought by the acolyte. Sweetmeats at service seemed to be rather a special affair, tea was commoner, and they used to bring me a tea equipage, although I was performing no part in the rites. The charcoal brazier for lighting pipes was also brought, and the worshippers, after completing their part of the service, would return to their mats and start a pipe with a look of pleasant relaxation, while the priest went on with his part of the service, which he intones with musical monotony. Of

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Fig. 1.—DECORATION OF MONASTERY ATTACHED TO ZOTOKUIN TEMPLE, YOKOHAMA.

Fig. 2.—GARGOYLE FOUNTAIN, TEMPLE OF FUDOMYOO, NEGISHI.

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church music as we know it there is practically none, but from time to time the intoning is punctuated by a single stroke on a gong of wonderful mellowness, and a deep pulsating sound booms solemnly through the building. There are also little wooden drums beaten from time to time with wooden sticks, which produce an unpleasant sound—at least, to a Western ear. For external effect there is not a peal of bells as in the West, but a single great bell ensconced in a belfry of beautiful and characteristic form. The bell, which is of great thickness, is sounded by swinging a beam which strikes the lip end on, in the way a battering-ram is used. The deep note, whether reverberating above the busy noises of the day, or stirring the sluggish silence of the night, never fails to awaken the chords of religious feeling.

I have already said that I am not learned in Japanese matters, and I hasten to add that I could not translate the services, but this very ignorance taught me, what I might not otherwise have learnt, to what a large degree the appeal of a refined religion is independent of verbal expression. Doubtless one can learn about Buddhist theology from books; but it would hardly enable one to appreciate the effect of the ritual and observances upon the simple peasants. Buddhist theology is a very interesting study, but a religion comprises more than its theology. It cannot be properly appreciated unless it can be felt, as well as comprehended, and for this one should attend its services. I am quite sure, also, that there is considerable risk of misreading such theology if one has never had opportunities for seeing the religion at work.

Most of what I have to say this evening relates to Buddhist temples and worship. Those of the Shinto cult appeal less to the foreigner. The Buddhist faith is catholic, for all mankind, and even concerns itself to some extent with all conscious life, whereas that of Shinto is a purely national affair. It is a singular survival, and I do not know any other civilized country which still cherishes a religion of this character. It is, however, now attracting considerable attention in the West, for as patriotism with a religious or divine sanction, it is thought to have a powerful influence in producing a unity of purpose and a standard of self-sacrifice among the Japanese to which few nations are now able to attain.

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In this connection I would say a word for the information of those who have not been in Japan, viz. that it is much more important to visit this country, if one would understand it, than is the case with the countries of the Western world. The differences between these are relatively slight, and they all get their civilization from the same sources as ourselves. But Japan did not; and unless we know China well, which few of us do, we shall probably not understand Japan without visiting the country. Afterwards one can understand what one reads, but before visiting the place, it is as likely as not that one is misunderstanding more than half of what one reads on the subject.

The photograph (lantern slide) shows the Jizu in the precincts of the Myokoji temple. Jizu is the deity who has charge in Purgatory of the souls of little children, and the quaint appearance of the image in the photograph is produced by the caps, bibs, and other garments of departed little ones for whom the intercession of the god is sought. In other instances stones are heaped in front of, and even upon, the image to lighten the corresponding task of the soul's probationary period.

These propitiatory acts on behalf of children appear to be more numerous than those offered to any other member of the popular pantheon, not even excepting the Inari, the Goddess of Rice, and therefore of riches.

Eastwards by the coast road, a short distance from the "Bluff Village" temple, one comes to the Fisherman's Shrine at Honmoku, and I photographed one of the stone lanterns in front of the shrine; not alone as an example of these admirable structures, but for the sake of a curious relic of bygone days. On one of the stones of the pedestal is the English broad arrow, the familiar mark of our surveyors.

The gateway of the neighbouring Shinto priest's house was photographed for the sake of the quaint lantern and lamp-post. The choice of the curved and twisted branch for a support, placed as it is in front of the formal paling, is a characteristic example of the artistic cleverness about everyday things which is so universal in Japan, and the lack of which makes Western countries appear so crude when the traveller returns.

Fig. 1, Plate III., shows a characteristic piece of decoration in a monastery at Yokohama.

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One of my favourite haunts near Yokohama was the small and humble temple of Fudo at Negishi. It is a very poor temple, too, for it has no cemetery, and I think no family *clientèle.*

The lantern slides show the exterior of the priest's house, and the interior of the temple with a large drum as well as the gong.

Fudo, one is told, means "the immovableness of the supreme enlightenment that cannot be prevailed upon by any low passion." The verbal expression of the idea sounds formidable, and perhaps not very attractive, but the glorious brightness and calm of the view over Mississippi Bay contributes to produce a frame of mind in harmony with these attributes. I found it so myself long before I knew what Fudo was supposed to mean. The temple nestles just below the summit of the wooded undercliff which looks south over the sea. The plain above, when I first went there, was swept by a cold north-east wind, and it is at no time particularly attractive. A few steps down to the nook in which the little temple nestles, and I found, sheltering below, the climate of the Riviera, with a much richer vegetation. Right up from the narrow coastal plain, dotted with fishermen's houses, about a hundred feet below, there ascends to the temple a flight of stone steps, or, more properly, two flights, a straight one for the men and a more devious but gentler ascent better suited for the women. Of course there are all sorts of notions, always pretty and sometimes profound, relating to temple steps, and indeed to most features in and about the temples, which it is impossible to dwell upon in such a paper as this. Besides, I don't want to go beyond my experiences to tell much of what one has learnt from books, for that is one of the great faults of people who come home and talk about Japan. Let us have their impressions first hand, for impressions are nearly always worth having; even for the learned they have a human interest; all one should protest against is the padding which unduly swells their bulk.

The view from the temple is glorious, and it therefore supports a tea-house. The view is part of the *raison d'être* of many temples, for the appreciation of natural scenery is no new thing in Japan, where, indeed, it is far more universal than

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with us. But the gargoyle fountain shown in the photograph [Fig. 2, Plate III.], is a special feature of this particular temple, and one stands under it for penance. Situated in a dark and shady nook, and, to be quite candid, a sometimes very smelly nook, this gargoyle was difficult to photograph, but I got it right at last with a time exposure.

Here perhaps I ought to say a word as to how I took my photographs. Those at Yokohama were done with a Dallmeyer quarter-plate camera with a lens of high quality, which I used for snow-studies in Canada, and on "Imperial" plates, but at Kyōto, Tōkyō, and Nikko, for greater convenience and lightness, I used, almost for the first time, a No. 2 Bull's Eye Kodak, and I found that the film with its black background had the great merit, in the brilliant light of the Japanese spring and summer, of preventing halation. For snapshots of figure scenes the short focus was also advantageous, and the ability to take the picture unostentatiously is of considerable importance, for if the subject knows he is being photographed, a rigidity of the muscles immediately supervenes and spoils the pose.

Trained trees are an important feature in monastic and other gardens. In training the pine, the notion seems to be to get in a young or small tree the picturesqueness of the veterans with their branches drooping under their own weight. The old pine tree in Japan throws out a thicker and longer branch than with us, which therefore droops more. The theory of the trained tree is a part of the Japanese theory of a garden, which I take to be that it should be a miniature landscape instead of a life-size fragment of a landscape as with us.

From Yokohama one can visit the great Daibutsu at Kamakura, the most beautiful of the great Buddhas. A permit was required to photograph it, and not being provided with one, I had to come away without attempting it. Most of the photographs fail to convey the impression produced by this great work upon almost all who see it. As an example of the idealized devotional type, it recalls the grand figures of the Cistine ceiling. I was glad that before I went to see it I had already been long enough in the country to become accustomed to the Far Eastern type of physiognomy. But when one sees a thousand Japanese for every Occidental, one soon gets to

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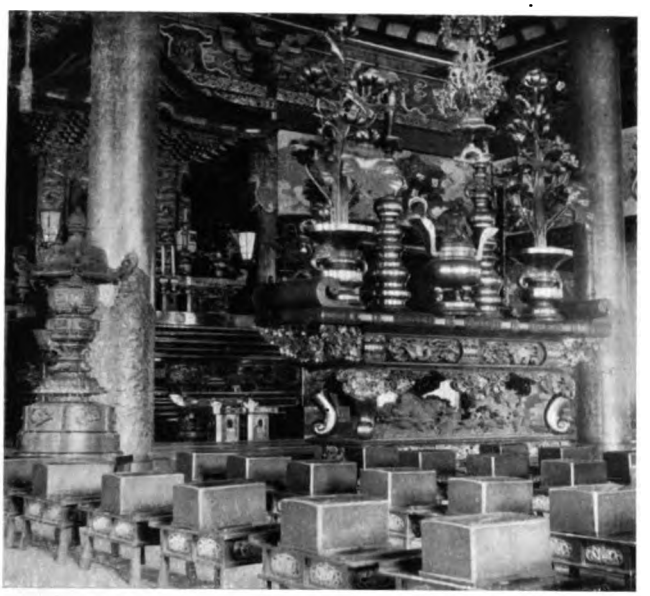

Fig. 1.—INTERIOR HOMMONJI TEMPLE, IKEGAMI.

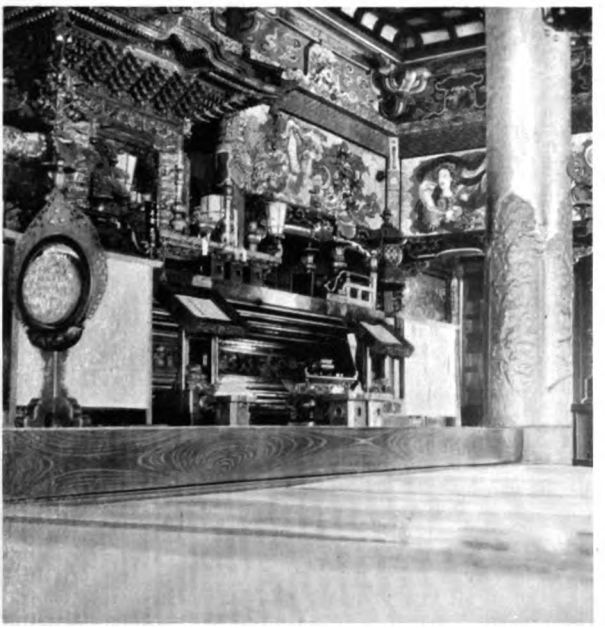

Fig. 2.—ALTAR AND SHRINE, HOMMONJI TEMPLE, IKEGAMI.

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consider the Yellow as the normal type and the White as the variety. It is strange how quickly a new environment will change the habits of the eye. I well remember how, after a single month among the tawny sands of Egypt, the blue reflections of the Mediterranean appeared almost unnatural, and after only a fortnight of blue sky and blue sea, the green lawns of early June in England presented quite a novel and unexpected appearance. The drawback of this fickleness of the eye is that too often scenes cease to appear remarkable when one has gained sufficient familiarity to understand them. An object is only discerned by aid of a contrasting background, and I found on returning to the West from Japan, that the memory of many objects there acquired a new distinctness from contrast with the actual Western surroundings.

The great Hommonji Temple at Ikegami, dedicated to Nichiren, a saint who died A.D. 1282, is a fine example of a purely Buddhist church. The photographs which I took of the interior of the Soshi-do, or Founder's Hall, by permission of the priest in charge [Figs. 1 and 2, Plate IV.], give an idea of the elaborate decoration. The paintings of the walls and ceiling are in red, white, and blue. The shrine is gold lacquer, the pillars shown in the photograph have a gold or brass lacquer surface, the wood of the step to what one may call the altar is black with brilliant polish, and shows a beautiful natural grain ; the mats are nearly white, and so smooth that the brazen pillar is reflected from their surface, as can be seen in the illustration. Another photograph, taken further back from the saint's shrine, shows the rows of red lacquer boxes (and such splendid lacquer!) which cover the scriptures, each resting upon a stool of black and gold. These correspond to the choir-stalls of a cathedral. A priest, in the robes which are so like our academic costume of gown and hood, kneels or sits (for the positions are one) before each during service. He has, of course, no "college cap," but a fan, carried in the hand, serves to give completeness to the costume.

The great table, somewhat to the right of the centre in Fig. 1, Plate IV., is mostly red lacquered wood, and supports vases, candlesticks, and lotus flowers. On the left of the picture is a dark bronze lantern of beautiful form. The whole is gorgeous, yet there is not a jarring note of colour in the building.

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Those who are used to photograph interiors may notice how well and uniformly the place is lighted. No small part of the beauty of these interiors depends upon the mode of lighting. The lattice-work of oiled paper diffuses a mild and general illumination throughout the buildings which greatly enhances their beauty. On the other hand, if plenty of light and air are desired, the whole of the front of this building could be thrown open, the structure being supported by pillars, not by walls. The contrasted view, looking out from the temple into the sunlit groves of cryptomerias around, was wonderfully effective. The lowness of the furnishings, the result of sitting on the floor instead of on benches or chairs, gives a look of greater spaciousness to the interior than is obtained by our plan of furnishing.

In the precincts of this temple is a monument erected by the Japanese to the memory of some American sailors who lost their lives in a typhoon in the neighbouring bay. When we were there the monument was being freshly decorated with flowers, with care as great as that bestowed on the graves of their own people.

A little side temple in the front courtyard was in charge of a boy-priest, who could not have been more than eight years old. He conducted special services of intercession on behalf of one or two worshippers who came with small offerings. He performed his offices with the perfection of decorum and reverence, but when not on duty his demeanour and expression were those natural to a child.

Buddhist sects and their temples differ much, and at Asakusa in Tōkyō, one may see the extreme popularization of Buddhist worship. The temple here, dedicated to Kwannon, the Goddess of Mercy, is the central feature of a great fair and place of amusement. Passing through a noisy and crowded bazaar, one enters the court shown in the illustration, crowded with sightseers [Fig. 1, Plate V.].

The interior of the temple is a strange medley of bizarre sights and conflicting sounds. Enormous paper lanterns depend from the roof, pigeons fly about, the intoning of priests is heard, people come to rub an aching head against the head of a much-worn image of magical powers, printed prayers and pictures are purchased, and all the time there is a continuous rattle of the small copper coins which are thrown into a huge coffer placed

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Fig. 1.—ASAKUSA TEMPLE, TŌKYO.

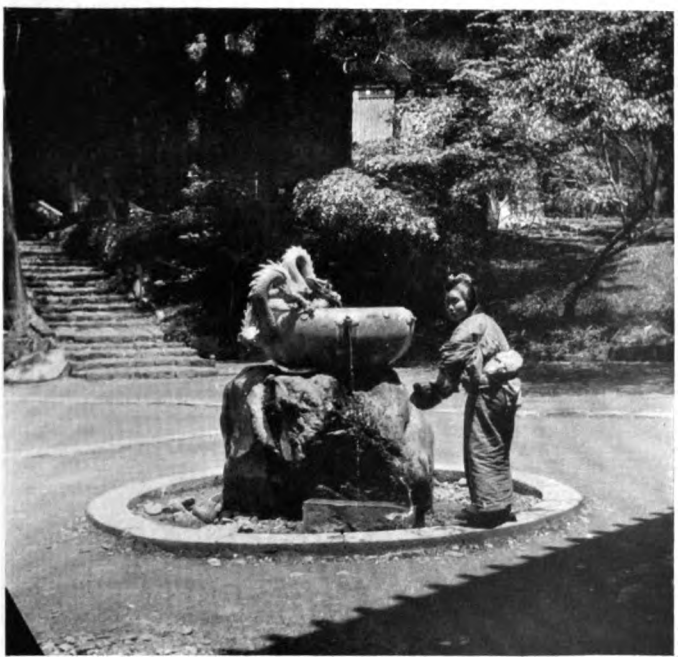

Fig. 2.—THE DRAGON'S BOWL, NIKKO.

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to receive offerings. The whole thing is an object-lesson in the extreme popularization of religion, and as great a contrast as could be imagined to the refined rites and the scholarly calm of the Honenin Monastery which we visited at Kyōto. Asakusa was the first I had seen in Japan typical of one's notions of a heathen temple, but even here, though things look childish, and probably are so, there was nothing objectionable.

It was in brilliant weather towards the end of May that we left the capital for the sunny splendours of Nikko. After traversing the fertile plain where the crops were already golden, the railway ascends to a plateau country of flowering shrubs, and, approaching the entrance of the mountain region, follows nearly the line of the great avenue of cryptomerias which leads on for many stately miles towards the tombs of Iyeyasu and Iyemitsu. From the railway station we follow the line of the avenue and the village, until, at a narrow part of the valley, the rushing mountain river is confined in a fixed and narrow channel, between the opposing rocks of a narrow gorge. Here the stream is bridged, and, crossing over to the true right bank, we enter the sacred groves. The sun was already higher than at midsummer in England, and the hundred-and-fifty-foot trunks of the cryptomerias threw no long shadows, but their branches, held high aloft, cast a softer shade upon the glades and the mossy causeways. No pale light from near the horizon reaches the eye, but the illumination in the groves is from the deeper blue of the zenith, and the sky is purer here where we have an elevation of two thousand feet. The note of the natural colouring is a brilliant green, for frequent rains and mountain mists alternate with a sun which attains in summer an almost tropical intensity. As we wander in these groves of green we come upon an endless succession of beautiful buildings, the dominant colour of which is a rich and sober red, not unlike maple-leaf in spring. Black and gold also have their share in threefold colouring of these wonders of woodwork, and enhance the beauty of the surroundings from which they themselves gain so much in charm. The ribbed-tiled roofs are dark in colour, but, the texture of their surface being smooth, they show dark or light, according to the angle at which they are seen in reference to the sun's position, sometimes even shining like a surface of water. Stately stairs of mossy stone

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lead the pilgrim on from the lower to higher shrines; the stone lanterns, too, are mossy, as also the low but massive retaining-walls, all stonework here tending to take on the dominant tone of the natural colouring. Where wood is used for roofing, this also becomes covered with a mossy coat like green plush. The area occupied by the sacred buildings, their courts and precincts, and the paths and causeways, may be a square mile, and there is a vast number of individual buildings, for many edifices go to making up one mausoleum, that of Iyeyasu alone containing, I suppose, quite five and twenty. I must not attempt to describe the whole group of shrines, or mausolea, or temples (as they are differently termed), for that would be too much for a paper in itself. I must rather now try to convey, or to renew, for you an impression of the general character of what is to be seen in the groves of Nikko, asking you always to remember the scheme of colour when looking at the photographs, viz. red, black, and gold, with a background of greenery, grey stone and lichen, and patches of deep blue sky behind the foliage. The principal features of the whole scheme of architecture are, of course, the two shrines of Iyemitsu and Iyeyasu, and a convenient starting-place for the pilgrim is the court of Futatsu-do, which is centrally situated between them, the shrine of Iyemitsu being on the hillside to the left, and that of Iyeyasu to the right.

The photograph [lantern slide] gives a general view of this court, which I will venture to call the Court of the Dragon's Bowl. I wish to point out how much the actual effect there obtained depends upon a brilliant and a high sun. Of course the deep shadows have themselves the most lovely subdued colours. One should notice how the ribs of the roofs treat the light, how the beam-ends projecting below stand out from the shadows, and how sharply shadowed is the curved lip of the stone lanterns. Fig. 2, Plate V., is a photograph of the Dragon's Bowl.

We were privileged to witness, almost or quite alone, an incident in which the faith of modern Japan was manifested with the same scenic perfection as in days gone by. Fig. 1, Plate VI., shows the envoys sent by the Emperor of Japan on June 1st, 1903, bearing the annual offering to the shrines of Iyeyasu and Iyemitsu. In the first photograph the procession

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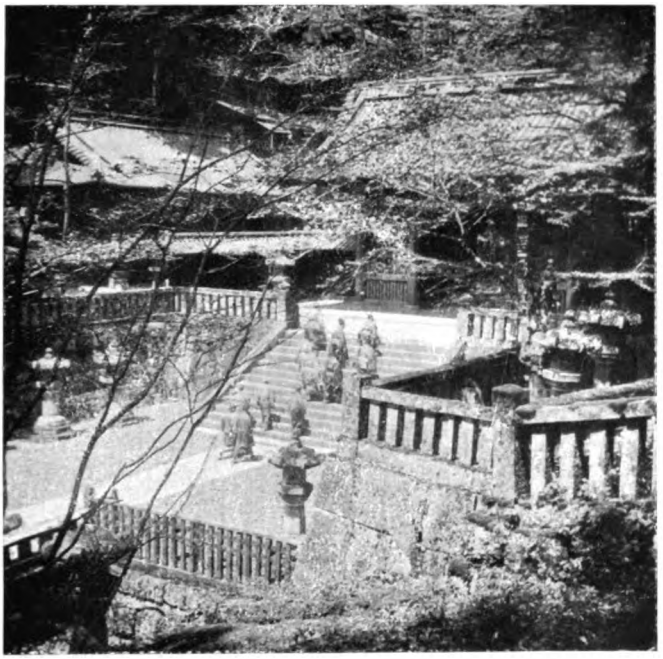

Fig. 1.—MIKADO'S ENVOYS TAKING OFFERING TO SHRINE OF IYEMITSU, NIKKO.

Fig. 2.—MIKADO'S ENVOYS RETURNING FROM SHRINE OF IYEMITSU, NIKKO.

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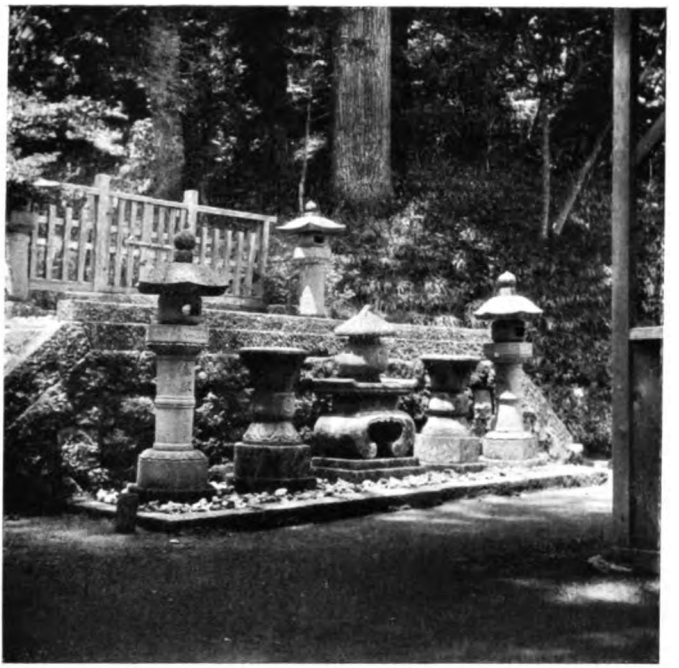

Fig. 1.—STONE LANTERNS AND VASES, NIKKO.

Fig. 2.—THE NIKKO TORRENT.

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of notables, in the gorgeous raiment now so seldom seen, are shown ascending the steps to the entrance-gate of the shrine of Iyemitsu. This photograph is the best epitome of Japan that I was able to obtain during our stay.

The next photograph [Fig. 2, Plate VI.] shows the envoys returning from the same shrine.

Another photograph [lantern slide] gives the character of the cryptomerias, and a notion of their size by comparison with the figure of a Japanese woman standing beneath the mossy roof of the cistern of oblation. This cistern, hollowed from a single block of stone, is fed by a pipe from a spring, and the water wells over the rim, giving an effect as if the stone were glazed. It is interesting, too, as I believe Professor John Milne pointed out, as showing that there has been no tilting of the ground since the cistern was fixed. At the Shiba temples in Tōkyō (which is so much subject to earthquakes) I saw another similar cistern which is now very much out of the level. The same photograph shows the use of boulders from the bed of the torrent for paving the court-yard. They break up the light in the most effective manner.

Fig. 1, Plate VII., shows stone lanterns and vases. Fig. 2, Plate VII., is a view of the torrent of Nikko, giving an idea of the scenery of this lovely neighbourhood. The low sun shows the polish which the rocks take from the scouring sand and stones brought down by this torrent when in flood. In September, 1902, in a terrible typhoon, a landslip caused the lake Chunzenji to overflow and to send down a sudden flood which apparently came in the form of what is known as a roll-wave, a kind of wave I have recently been investigating, which travels like a bore, but down-stream. Along the banks of this Nikko torrent stood a famous row of stone Buddhas, and carved in a niche in the face of a rock overhanging the stream a little Buddha easily passed by unless pointed out to the traveller. He has a different expression to that of most Buddhas, a smile and a sort of air of amusement with the quaint and unusual position which he occupies. Above the rock stood a little tea-house, and the little Buddha was very important in the eyes of and to the welfare of the man who kept it. The latter was sitting there on the day of the typhoon, when, startled by a sudden noise of rush and roar, he looked to his left and saw a wall

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of foaming water (the face of the roll-wave, in fact) racing down the gorge with terrific speed. He had just time to scramble twenty feet up the bank before the flood engulfed his tea-house, and he saw the rows of Buddhas on the bank tumbling about like nine-pins, and, alas! in many cases quite broken up. Four hours he remained at his station, so deafened by the noise of the water that he was unable to hear for several days after. At the end of the time the flood abated, and he descended, little expecting to see again his own special Buddha of the rocky niche. "But there he was," as he told us, "unhurt and still smiling;" and he smiles to this day, and a new tea-house has been built above the rock, where the fortunes of the little Buddha are recounted to many pilgrims, and are perhaps even now becoming a legend in the country.

The photographic prints which I shall now show on the screen are some I took of the great annual religious procession at Nikko, which is visited by many foreigners. The ceremony is Shinto, not Buddhist. The priestesses in white are Shinto priestesses, and the principal Shinto priests are seen on horse-back. The falcon on a man's wrist is a curious feature in such a procession. The garb of the peasants who participate in the procession is stored during the rest of the year in the "godowns" of the temples.

I am very conscious that I am only skirting round the fringe of things at Nikko, but to give an adequate notion of the details of *one* of the two great shrines would need a paper by itself and a special set of photographs. That of Iyeyasu, the first of the Tokugawa line, is the greatest and most elaborate. By massive steps, between votive lanterns, one passes through gateways of increasing magnificence, through courts in which stand the bronze *torii*, the ornate drum-tower, the revolving wheel of Buddhist Scriptures, the stage of Kagura dancing, and the stable of the sacred horse, and surely no other horse in the world has a stable of such exquisite design. Up, and always up—for the shrine is laid out upon the mountain-side—we pass through courts surrounded by screens of such carvings as are not known in the West, in which are seen examples of every feature of Japanese wood-carving, all painted, in red, white, blue, green, and gold. Here are the peacock and the phœnix, the lotus flower, the peony, and the pine-branch. Dragons,

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too, of dreadful form; and here and there a prying monkey or a sleeping cat induce the smile which brings relaxation to the pilgrim, perhaps overwrought by so much magnificence.

In the gateway called Yomei-mon the carving and colouring are carried to such a stage of elaboration and profuseness that the impression—I speak for myself only—at the moment was not wholly pleasing. But on looking back upon the scene, and recalling the whole group of buildings and its surroundings, I see it differently, and admit that it was right and best to work up to a structure where decorative enrichment should exhaust its possibilities. Moreover, no one understood better than the Japanese artist the mental effect of contrast, and as we pass out and up from the courts to the great balustraded stone stairway, which leads through the quiet trees to the plain bronze tomb of the great Shōgun which dominates all, we are prepared to pay our homage to the spirit of the man whose life-work gave to Japan more than two centuries of peace and order, during which the civilization of the country flourished, and the national character developed and matured.

[The paper was illustrated by about forty lantern slides from the author's photographs.]

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure, ladies and gentlemen, we have all been delighted with the paper, and that it will call forth encomiums from those who have listened to it.

Mr. ALFRED EAST, A.R.A., *Member of Council, J.S.:* I think it is my duty to respond to the Chairman's call. He explored the country whilst I settled down in the villages, lived with the people, painted them, and became known to them. Every one was nice and kind. There I had the privilege of meeting Professor Chamberlain, to whom we owe so much for his translations of Japanese poems and fairy tales. In one valley that I visited and painted was laid the scene of the fairy tale of the Moon Maiden. And there I saw a child's grave, and on it her favourite doll. Japan is the land of children; they are identical with the Japanese dolls you see in the shops, they are so very well-behaved.

Japan is a country which strikes the Occidental as strange. I found the Japanese very irreligious; I saw but few men in the temples, but I saw the pilgrims stamped like a returned letter from the post office; we don't get stamped in that way.

All these incidents are brought back to me by the pleasant and sympathetic paper we have heard to-night. I know Japan's weakness,

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and its greatness in its art. Everything is done in the most charming way in Japan. But I am wandering from the subject of the lecture.

In one temple in Tōkyō there are two thousand gods, gilded statues; close by is a monument set up to a victorious general, and also a remarkable figure in European dress, that of Marco Polo, showing, even in those days, how broad-minded the Japanese were, and how much in touch with Europe they were.

I will leave off now, and say how pleased I am to hear, after an interval of fourteen years, another fresh view from the Lecturer on this charming land. I may add my thanks to the Lecturer.

Professor PHENÉ SPIERS, *Member of Council, J.S.*, said that he had never witnessed a more interesting series of photographs than those presented on the screen that night. There was one very remarkable thing about the construction of roofs in Japan, and that was that they began building the reverse way.

Mr. NESBITT, M.J.S.: I note an important difference between Japanese and European temples. Ours are long and narrow in the main, with the shrine at one end; in Japan the temple is also long and narrow, but the shrine is in the middle. The marvellous scheme of colour and the harmony of colour in these temples has been pointed out to us. It is difficult, until you have seen them as a whole, not to think they must be gaudy; they are not gaudy in the slightest degree. One could wish that the colour could have been shown on the screen, for one can have no idea of its beauty until one has seen it.

Mr. F. M. JONAS, M.J.S.: In rising to propose a Vote of Thanks, I should like to say a few words. I have spent many happy days amongst the temples in Japan. Entomologists can find many insects among the tombs. I myself hope very shortly to be amongst those tombs and temples again. In the name of us all I propose a Vote of Thanks to Dr. Vaughan Cornish for his pleasant and interesting paper.

Mr. CHARLES A. MITCHELL, M.J.S., seconded the Vote of Thanks, which was carried with acclamation.

The proceedings then terminated.

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THE

SEVENTY-EIGHTH ORDINARY MEETING,

(THIRD OF THE FOURTEENTH SESSION,)

JANUARY 11TH, 1905.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, London.*]

Mr. MARCUS B. HUISH (*Hon. Librarian, J.S.*) took the Chair at 8.30 P.M., when a Paper was read by Mr. H. J. EDWARDS, entitled, "JAPANESE UNDERGRADUATES AT CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY."

The Chairman, in introducing the reader of the Paper, said: A page in the world's history, which Japan has been writing in the Far East, and which most of us have read with the greatest satisfaction, has been completed since we last met in this hall. We rejoice at its conclusion, and are delighted to be able to direct our attention, so far as Japan is concerned, to more prosaic and academic subjects, appertaining to its countrymen on this side of the water. We have had many discussions here on the education of the Japanese at home, but I think this is the first time that their training in foreign parts has been before us. Their desire for instruction at our hands is no new thing. The very first Englishman to venture to Japan was shortly after his landing brought into the presence of the greatest ruler Japan has ever had, and was asked "for instruction in some points of geometry and mathematics and other things." Again, the latest of her naval commanders, the man who was responsible for the fall of Port Arthur, received his early education in British waters.

In the month of June last the Japan Society received an invitation to go down to Cambridge, to be introduced to the Japanese students at the university. Many were unable to go, but those who did had a delightful time, and they expressed a wish that their host, Mr. Edwards, should impart to those of us who were not so fortunate the gist of what he told to his guests on that occasion. To this he readily gave his assent, and he is here to-night to fulfil his promise.

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JAPANESE UNDERGRADUATES AT CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.

By H. J. EDWARDS, M.A., M.J.S.,

FELLOW AND DEAN OF PETERHOUSE, CAMBRIDGE.

LAST June it was our privilege and pleasure in Cambridge to welcome a little company of visitors, English and Japanese, composed under the auspices of this Society.

From the beginning of its existence, the Society has been pretty closely connected with the University. There are many Cambridge men among its officers and members; and the President himself, His Excellency the Viscount Hayashi, received from the University in 1902 the honorary degree of LL.D. The proposal that some of the London members and of the Japanese residents in London should pay a visit to Cambridge, was made on the occasion of the last annual dinner of the Society to our late chairman, Mr. Diósy, who, with his usual promptness and tact, carried the arrangements to a successful conclusion.

While our visitors were at Peterhouse, the oldest College of the University, I was invited to contribute a paper to your *Proceedings*. Anxious to choose a subject which might in some sort represent both Cambridge and Japan, I proposed then to say something about the Japanese who had come into closer contact with the University by actual residence therein. My remarks this evening about Japanese undergraduates are based upon personal acquaintance and observation in a good many cases; but the kindness of friends at Cambridge—especially of Dr. Donald MacAlister and Dr. G. F. Rogers, both members of this Society—has enabled me to blend their impressions with my own, and so to make the picture more complete.

Though my chief object is rather to set before you a summary

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of general experience, I shall not be forgetful or neglectful of single careers and characters; and I would at the outset disarm criticism, in case there may be present here any of those who may be mentioned by name, with an assurance that what is said is actuated by motives of good will towards them and their nation.

It is more than thirty years since the first Japanese students came to Cambridge, early in the seventies, when Japan was eagerly learning all that Europe was able to teach. Among the first to wear the gown of a Cambridge undergraduate was Dairoku Yasuyuki Kikuchi, who entered St. John's College in 1873 from University College School, where he had already marked himself out for distinction by obtaining the third place in the London University Matriculation Examination. "He soon attracted notice (writes his College Tutor) for his bright temper, keen and inquisitive intelligence, and undoubted mathematical ability." The College examinations which he took in his first and second year showed him to be a first-class man, and the Mathematical Tripos of 1877, in which he came out as nineteenth wrangler, placed him among the best men of his year in the University. But his activities had not been confined to mathematical studies, for he had found time to take a full share in the numerous occupations that go to make up College life. He had been secretary of the Lady Margaret Boat Club—and boat club secretaries, as everybody knows, must walk warily and work willingly. He was courageous enough once to propose, in the College Debating Society, a highly controversial motion—"That the conduct of Englishmen in Japan is unworthy of their nationality"—and eloquent enough to carry the house with him. It is not surprising that a man of such ability and such force of character should successively become Professor of Mathematics in the University of Tōkyo, then President of the same, then Minister of Education, and a member of the House of Peers. His success, most gratifying to his Cambridge teachers and friends, must have done much to stimulate others of his countrymen to follow his brilliant example.

A short time afterwards St. John's College counted among its undergraduates a name which has since become well known, not in this country only, but throughout Europe—Kenchio Suyematz. He came to the University to study law, and is

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remembered by those who knew him there as a man of ready speech and merry mood, with a touch of originality that never failed to attract. One story—for which my informant does not hold himself inextricably responsible—may be retold here. On the towing-path, among the rowing-men of his College—who wore the familiar scarlet jackets that have added the word "blazer" to the English language—Suyematz appeared in a brilliant but unknown uniform. "What club does that blazer represent?" asked the men of scarlet. The answer came, admirable and ingenuous—"Club? Suyematz Club! I invented it myself!" I need scarcely recall in this assembly the subsequent career of Baron Suyematz, who has shown himself as successful in translating Japanese classics as in defending Japanese policy and ideals—a man of whom his College is most justly proud.

In 1886, Manjiro Inagaki came to Cambridge, and became a member of Gonville and Caius College. For several years, from this time onwards, there were generally about ten Japanese undergraduates at a time in the University, mostly men of noble birth. Inagaki became in a sense the guide, philosopher, and friend of his compatriots, and it was to his initiative that the Japanese Club owed its origin and development. "The chief object of this Club (I quote from the printed record of the same) is to study the training and character of the English Gentleman; in other words, to inquire (*a*) what are the qualities of the English Gentleman, (*b*) how and where the high character of the English Gentleman is produced; and, having ascertained that certain qualities are possessed by the English Gentleman, to inquire into the best means of cultivating among ourselves the like qualities." Two successive Ministers of Japan to the Court of St. James's—Viscount Kawase and Viscount Aoki—were presidents of the Club; its vice-presidents were the Reverend Dr. Searle, late Master of Pembroke College, and Dr. Donald MacAlister, Fellow and Tutor of St. John's. Its honorary members consisted chiefly of Japanese who had graduated at Cambridge; its ordinary members were those still *in statu pupillari*. In the years 1888–1895 the Club held fifteen meetings; as a rule, the members with their friends were entertained at luncheon, and subsequently listened to a paper read by some leading person in the University. At the first meeting, for instance, the late Sir Thomas Wade, K.C.B., Professor of

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Chinese in the University, who had for some time resided in Japan also, gave an address on "The Character of the English Gentleman and English Public Schools," a subject upon which he spoke with direct knowledge, as an Old Harrovian. You may see what was the variety of subjects discussed at the subsequent meetings, and what the authority of the chief speakers, when I mention a few instances in illustration.

The Reverend Dr. Westcott (then Regius Professor of Divinity, afterwards Lord Bishop of Durham) spoke on "The Influence of Christianity upon the Character of the English Gentleman;" the Reverend Dr. Searle (then Master of Pembroke) on "The Comity of Nations;" Professor MacAlister on "Science as a Training;" Dr. Verrall on "Literature as a Training;" the Reverend Dr. Butler (Master of Trinity) on "English Gentlemen in the Past;" Sir Richard Jebb, M.P. (Regius Professor of Greek), on "The House of Commons;" Sir John Seeley (Regius Professor of Modern History) on "History and Ethics;" the Reverend Dr. Cunningham on "The Sacredness of Property."

The fifteenth meeting, held on June 4th, 1895, elicited a characteristic address from Dr. F. W. Maitland (Downing Professor of the Laws of England) on "The English Gentleman in English Law." With a quiet humour which is all his own, Professor Maitland led his audience to the legal part of his subject, an exposition of the text that "our law knows, and for many centuries past has known, nothing, or next to nothing, of gentlemen." This, he went on to say, was one trait in the history of the English gentleman which had exercised a powerful influence on the political institutions, not only of England, but of Western Europe and of America. "Sometimes it seems to me (concluded the Professor) that the legal non-existence or legal nonentity of the English gentleman is, and has been for several centuries, his very essence." In proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, Mr. G. Mori, of Gonville and Caius College, honorary secretary of the Japanese Club, made a capital little speech, which showed that he clearly appreciated the disappearance of caste-feeling in England, and the growing tendency in public opinion to judge a gentleman solely by his character. The Master of Pembroke, who had entertained the Club on this occasion, added a few remarks which possess a renewed interest to-day in view of recent events

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in the Far East. "Japan," said Dr. Searle, "has been very much before the world this year, and you have very much surprised many people—you have not surprised me—by the exhibition of those great virtues which your country possesses. Your country has now rightly gained a position amongst the prominent nations of the world. . . . When the war was ended, when you had your enemies under your heel, you did not exact all that you had a right to do. That is one of the chief characteristics of a gentleman: not to claim all he has a strict right to. . . . I have always said that the Japanese are by nature gentlemen. I said it in the University pulpit on one occasion, and Mr. Inagaki was, I remember, very pleased by the remark." Mr. K. Noda (a non-collegiate student), in proposing a vote of thanks to the Master of Pembroke for presiding, remarked that the friendly feelings of the Japanese were called forth in no uncertain fashion by the kindly interest which leading members of the University had taken in the proceedings of the Club.

I must not leave this part of my subject without stating that the creation of this bond of sympathy was chiefly due to the skill, energy, and enterprise of Mr. Inagaki, who was in truth the life and soul of the Club during the years of his residence in Cambridge. One result of the friendships that it enabled him to form may be seen in the fact that he induced Sir John Seeley to write a preface for his book on "Japan and the Pacific," in which recent developments were in large measure foretold. It is a matter for sincere regret that the Japanese Club at Cambridge has not continued its existence up to the present time. I may be allowed to express a hope that it will be revived, for an institution such as has been described cannot fail to be of real and lasting benefit and pleasure to both the high contracting parties.

In our list of professorships there is at the present no representative of Japanese, and the true cosmopolitanism of culture—as one of the newspapers called it this morning—certainly suggests that such a chair should be established in the near future. For myself, I would gladly see Cambridge taking the lead among the universities as a student of Japanese history and literature; and if teachers are needed, I doubt not that our friends will be able to furnish them for us.

I pass now to consider briefly what are the impressions left

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by Japanese students upon those with whom they have come in contact, in the various relations of university life—in work, in play, and in society.

For some reason or other, Cambridge has received a large proportion—I am not sure whether I should be justified in claiming the majority—of the Japanese students who have come to England to seek a university education. Whatever may be the reason for this choice—whether it be the Cambridge rule which remits Littlego Greek in the case of Asiatic undergraduates (a remission which some of our academic authorities would wish to see extended to British undergraduates also); or whether it be the variety of subjects that may be studied for a degree—it is certainly true to say that the Japanese have always received careful and courteous attention from the teachers of the University and of their several Colleges. A fair proportion of those who come proceed to degrees—some fifteen names are to be found in the degree-lists up to 1900, and one or two of these occupy positions of distinction which bespeak a high standard of intellectual ability. In some cases a general course of study has been pursued, without a degree as its immediate object. It will readily be understood that the English language (which, by the way, many of the Japanese undergraduates speak not accurately only, but gracefully) adds a liberal contribution of difficulties to the tasks of those who do present themselves for university examinations; and, after all, students who come from afar, if they have eyes to see and ears to hear, may learn from the *genius loci* lessons as valuable as those which are tested and appraised by the accepted mechanism of examinations. Cambridge teachers are unanimous in declaring the Japanese to be pleasant to work with, and most of them have evinced a genuine desire to learn; but I gather from evidence given to me that, unless the work of the students has been submitted to the test of public examination, the most conscientious teachers have found it extremely difficult, almost impossible, to determine how far the instruction given has taken root in the mind of the pupil, how far the main points have made their mark, and the relative values of things been appreciated. I have in mind the case of a man who came to the University to add to his qualifications for editorial work; he stayed a comparatively short time, and never intended to take

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any examinations. It was the opinion of one of his lecturers that in parts of the subject which the student had had little or no opportunity of preparing beforehand, it was extremely difficult for him to assimilate and thoroughly to appropriate the new material submitted to him; but that he was at once more happy and more ready in receiving further instruction upon things that he already had knowledge of when he came to the University. In other words, the previous education of our Japanese students, whether in English homes or schools, or in their own country, necessarily has an important bearing upon their capacity to receive University teaching.

It is naturally to be expected that as time goes on, and university education in Japan supplies more and more completely the highest intellectual training, the Japanese who come to English universities for other purposes than that of obtaining an actual acquaintance with young English life will be more and more concerned with special subjects—will, in fact, be "Advanced Students," as we call them nowadays, *i.e.* graduates of other universities who desire to carry out special courses of study or research in the particular departments of learning to which they have devoted themselves. "Advanced Students" are of necessity brought more into connexion with the senior than with the junior life of the University, and have exceptional opportunities of direct communication and conversation with the leading men in their several departments of learning. The establishment of intellectual relationships of this character is emphatically to be desired, in the best interests of universal knowledge and universal peace. The experience of our Japanese visitors may well induce English graduates some day to return the compliment, and to seek for the continuance of their own special studies in Japanese universities.

For a few of us the association with Japanese undergraduates which has begun in the work-room has blossomed into friendships veritable and valuable. I owe my introduction to the Japan Society to one such case. At Trinity College, some thirteen years ago, I had as a pupil Masa Aki Hachisuka. He came to me after having tried several times without success to pass one of the earlier examinations of the University, and there was some danger lest his course of study for a degree might be seriously impeded, if not altogether interrupted. I am happy

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to say that the work which we did together not only enabled him to satisfy the examiners then (as he continued to do afterwards, without let or hindrance, until he obtained his degree), but laid the foundation of a friendship which has continued to the present time. Hachisuka went back to his native country in 1895, and now holds important positions, as a Master of Ceremonies in the Imperial Court, and as secretary of the Peers' Club. Letters pass now and again between us, and I look forward with pleasurable anticipations to the prospect of seeing him again one day in Japan. As a student he was always modest, earnest, and painstaking; he knew his weak points, and laboured most conscientiously to strengthen them. He took a keen interest in the various subjects of study, and arranged his work with a thoroughness and precision that was pretty to see and pleasant to remember. His gratitude for the assistance given to him in his studies was sincere and enduring. His farewell present, a large collection of Japanese photographs which he had brought with him when he came to England, remains one of my treasured keepsakes.

In the organized athletic amusements of their several Colleges, the Japanese, as a whole, have taken no prominent part. Here and there one of them has helped his college boat—generally as coxswain, an office for which the light build of this race is, in the eyes of the boat-captain, eminently suited. You have already learned that Kikuchi was secretary of his college boat club. N. Nabeshima played half-back in the Rugby football team of Gonville and Caius College. His contemporaries tell of him that he was one of the nimblest and smartest of "halves," and threw into the game all the fierce zeal that its mimic warfare prompted. He would execute a little war-dance on his own account when his side scored a goal. A few Japanese have resorted to the gymnasium, and tried their skill in boxing with some success. Their muscular development has been noted by Cambridge doctors as being remarkably subtle and complete; far less burly than the average English undergraduate, they have generally proved that they could, if need were, use their strength skilfully and effectively.

In the ordinary round of our common life they take their part easily and unaffectedly. No one has ever found them

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anything but courteous in the extreme, with a scrupulous politeness that not only prevents possible awkwardness on our part, but inevitably wins sympathy. It is probably as correct to say of them that they like the society in which they find themselves, as it is certainly true that the society likes them. English undergraduates welcome them to their rooms and parties, and in not a few cases to their homes. When they entertain in turn, the Japanese generally conform to the conventions of the place; but sometimes, in a quiet tea-hour, they may be induced to prepare the feast in their own fashion. I can remember a day on which I drank Japanese tea, as I looked at the school drawing-books of an undergraduate, and admired the intricate curves that his juvenile wrist had been taught to draw in far-away Japan.

As strangers in a strange land, the Japanese cling closely together, and may generally be met in twos and threes; it is a real pleasure to act as host when they bring, with all possible politeness, a new-comer to be introduced. They observe shrewdly and unobtrusively the facts, fancies, and frivolities of English university life; and they express themselves with an accuracy of judgment which is rarely at fault, lapsing sometimes into silence with a courtesy which must be known to be appreciated. I never knew a Japanese undergraduate who could in the remotest degree be called silly; yet none are sad, and few are even solemn. They take an interest in most things, and join in the lesser entertainments with pleasure; they have never attracted attention as a class which lives apart, and they do not create, or receive, sensational impressions. Occasionally, indeed, I have heard it said that they appear to be somewhat indifferent to subjects that serious Englishmen count worthy of life-long attention and unwearying study.

The friendships which the Japanese form at Cambridge, though natural and cordial for the most part, rarely develop into real intimacies such as are common enough between our fellow-countrymen at the University, because few confidences are given or invited. There is, in fact, a faint film of reserve, not always unpleasant, not altogether un-English, over almost all their relations with us; it is seen in the smile which rarely becomes a laugh, in the regard which scarcely ever becomes

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admiration, in the impression which does not often ripen into conviction.

As a rule, our Japanese friends live very simply, and show little taste for luxury in its more substantial forms. They regard the wealth of England as a vast engine of possibility and power, and sometimes have heen heard to say, "What would not Japan do, had she this capital?" Love of country they evidently cherish as a sacred thing—no cheap cockade to be worn when war-fever is high, but an unobtrusive, unwavering *pietas* that is as sure as it is silent, and as quick as it is quiet. I well remember the dutiful attention with which one of them followed the decisive developments of the Japanese war with China. There was not an atom of jingoism in his temperament, but there was a good deal of its Oriental equivalent—the patience and confidence that knows and needs no hurry.

The ordinary Cambridge undergraduate is too much preoccupied, and too much accustomed nowadays to the presence of others than Englishmen in the University, to pay particular attention to the Japanese. For them this has its advantages, in that they see our young men as they are; and for the Englishman, it is only fair to say that he is always willing to meet a Japanese on a perfectly frank and friendly footing, for the chivalrous spirit of Japan, as evidenced ten years ago, and again in this last year, by the conduct of her fighting-men, appeals strongly to the instincts of fair play and good sportsmanship which the undergraduate regards as the best heritage of his being. Kindred spirits do not need to waste many words over mutual amenities, but they may look back with pleasure and gratitude upon the place and the time which discovered their kinship for them; and when old Cambridge men, of British birth and Japanese, meet as they do, once a year or so, to dine at Tōkyo in honour of their common Alma Mater, they pay no unimportant or uncertain tribute to the academic alliance of East and West. I hope that the Japanese students at Cambridge to-day (one of whom, I am glad to say, is a member of Peterhouse) may in their turn look back on their term of residence in our midst with similar gratification. A true word is often spoken in jest, and in the playful pages of *Punch*, a Cambridge poet—Mr. Owen Seaman—has expressed a sentiment that I will take as my conclusion to-night:—

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"Thus saith the Voice to the wearers of Chrysanthemums,
'East is West and West is East, for now the twain are one;
We are white and ye are yellow,
Ye are young and we are mellow,
Yet we'll hold the Seas together for the Lion and the Sun.'"

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you will agree with me that Mr. Edwards's paper has the great virtue of being all too short. Before its delivery I was in doubt whether he could find sufficient material to interest an audience which, to a considerable extent, has no connection with our universities, but the result has been to altogether dissipate my doubts. I should wish, before asking for criticism and discussion, to make one or two remarks with reference to the Club which was founded for the study of what constitutes an English gentleman. To leave the university in debt is not always considered discreditable to such an one; it is therefore greatly to the credit of his Japanese imitator that no one of these has as yet been known to leave the university in this plight. As regards a Chair of Japanese at Cambridge University, we stand in great need of it. I will merely give one instance to prove it. The English Government has just decided that a certain number of English officers shall learn the Japanese language. They will have to be sent out at great cost to Japan, because in England there is no place where they can be instructed. Over six hundred officers have applied to be included amongst the eight who are to go this year—a proof how much the need of a knowledge of the language is recognized. The money spent on sending out these eight would have paid for a much larger number had the place of teaching been Cambridge instead of Tokyō. We must, as usual, wait for another Cecil Rhodes to arise and provide funds for the education for the English who would learn Japanese.

I am sorry to hear that at my old college, Trinity Hall, we have no Japanese, as they make such admirable coxswains. I will now call for your remarks and discussion on the subject.

Mr. KADONO (*Member of Council, J.S.*): I am very glad to hear such a good report of my countrymen, many of whom I know personally. We keep the number of students at much the same relative value as they were ten years ago, perhaps slightly less. The class of student may be rather different; education here is very expensive, and therefore they have to be the sons of well-to-do people, who can afford to pay for their sons. The majority of our students must stay at home. In former years the Government paid for poor students, and that, perhaps, accounts for the larger number then than now. There is a great deal to be said for English methods of education, which form the characters of men as much as book education. I am quite sure that many will advocate sending their sons to learn such methods in English

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universities; but Japan is still in the case that it requires "applied sciences" more perhaps than the formation of character, and therefore the inexpensiveness of education in Germany, coupled with the opportunities for learning applied science, makes so many of our men go to Germany for two years and to England for half a year.

Mr. STANTON WISE: May I be allowed to make a few remarks on this subject? I have listened to Mr. Edwards's paper with great interest. I was contemporary with the first Japanese student he mentioned. Mr. Edwards has told us that Mr. Kikuchi was secretary to the Lady Margaret Club—that I was not aware of. He also added that Japanese students have been very useful as coxswains in the boats. I can produce a photograph in which I was bow and Mr. Kikuchi was "cox." I must apologize for mentioning such a frivolous subject. I am quite certain that everything that Mr. Edwards has said of the Japanese students, of their conscientiousness, hard work, keenness of observation, and other points, is well deserved. I am very sorry to hear that the number of Japanese students is decreasing; I hope that the number will be kept up; their presence is an extremely valuable experience for the English universities, who gain thereby as much as the Japanese. May we hope for a corresponding paper on the careers of Japanese students at Oxford? It should be as interesting as the one we have had.

Mr. WILSON CREWDSON (*Hon. Sec. J.S.*): I have been extremely interested to-night. The Japanese first went to London University, then to Cambridge, and now we hear of them in considerable numbers at Harvard and Yale, which may account for the lesser number at Cambridge; but a paper would be equally interesting on the Japanese students at Yale. The Japanese language is very different to ours; the Japanese think backwards, spell backwards, and write backwards, as has been said by a great authority on them.

I have always felt that the Samurai of Japan really represented our highest type of English gentleman. Perhaps a better idea could not be given than the tradition that when acting together all rely on each other to do their best. That is one of the traditions of the English gentleman, that, in an unassuming way, he does his very best without looking for reward. I cannot help thinking that the Japanese reserve also springs from the same training.

Mr. UKITA (*Hon. Sec. J.S.*): Before I propose a Vote of Thanks to the reader of the Paper, may I tell you about some of our Japanese who were students in England at the universities?

Mr. Kikuchi is now holding the position of President of the Parliament. He is now staying in London, and is still very energetic, and is doing his best for his country. He has, in fact, been lecturing

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this afternoon at the Royal Asiatic Society. Another late Cambridge student is now studying at Berne. All the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge are doing well in Japan, and they are the envy of all the other students. The difficulty of entering the university is that for most of the students two or three years of study is necessary before admittance can be had.

I must thank Mr. Edwards for his kind lecture, but I am afraid we are over-praised.

Captain LANGTON, R.A.: As one of the six hundred officers who applied to go to Japan, I should like to say that eight officers are already there, in addition to those attached to the Japanese Army. I have much pleasure in seconding the Vote of Thanks.

The CHAIRMAN: A Vote of Thanks has been proposed and seconded to Mr. Edwards for his admirable paper. Carried *nem. con.*

The LECTURER: Ladies and Gentlemen, I am very glad to find from the remarks which have been made that my short paper has been so well received. I ought to remove any possibility of misunderstanding as to the number of the students; there has been no actual decrease. We have always had from six to ten students—the most at any time was twelve or thirteen. It is quite obvious that the Japanese have now less need of elementary university education: but I expressed the hope that there might be more "Advanced Students." The present relations between England and Japan are strengthened by the association of their men of learning; for there can be little enmity between men of learning of any nation, and the more they see of each other the better for the peace of the world. I should like to add my expression of sympathy with the suggestion as to Oxford: there are many things in which Oxford and Cambridge differ, and it would be interesting to know how far the Japanese have been able to appreciate the considerable differences between the two great English Universities.

I thank you for listening to my lecture.

The proceedings then terminated.

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THE

SEVENTY-NINTH ORDINARY MEETING,

(FOURTH OF THE FOURTEENTH SESSION,)

FEBRUARY 8TH, 1905.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, London.*]

The Chair was taken at 8.30 P.M. by Mr. WILSON CREWDSON (*Hon. Secretary, J.S.*), when a Paper was read by Mr. SAMUEL MIDDLETON FOX, B.A., LL.B., entitled "SOME LESSONS FROM JAPAN."

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SOME LESSONS FROM JAPAN

By SAMUEL MIDDLETON FOX, B.A., LL.B.

WHEN our Council honoured me by asking me to read a paper here, I felt that I knew too little about Japan to venture on discussing anything technical. There was, however, one thing I did know—who does not know it before he has been twenty-four hours in the land?—and that was that, though she learns much from us, there is much, perhaps more, she in her turn could teach us with advantage. And I thought it might be of interest if I could suggest some comparisons for us to think over.

When, however, I began to collect my modest material, I was met by a difficulty. There was too much; I could not tell where to begin, and so, giving up all hope of being able to compare details of our social systems, I determined to try to isolate the source of her amazing perfection.

I think it must be this: Her ideals are not enshrined in the temple, but brought down to the market-place. Her people live with them—live up to them. While we treasure ours on the shelf as a traditional gospel of perfection or pious opinion, she adopts hers as a practical code of conduct. And if conduct (as Mr. Arnold says) is three-fourths of life, we can understand why theirs is such a consistently happy one.

To take an instance. Like the Japanese, we profess to hate bad manners, bad language, dirt. And yet, unlike them, we as a nation remain not exquisitely polite; not perhaps scrupulously clean; and not without our store of imprecations. Both nations hold discourtesy and personal uncleanliness and unbecoming language as barbarous and anti-social. But mark the difference between the two. We denounce and yet have regretfully to put up with them, while in Japan they don't exist. The language doesn't contain, I believe, a single oath. There, to disapprove

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of a trait is to abolish it, should it be in existence. With us the ever-increasing antidotes are ineffectual, for we still supply the poison. We in England, for instance, have societies for the prevention of cruelty to children and animals because these need protection from our inhumanity. In Japan there is no such need, because there is no such cruelty.

Both Morris and Ruskin have declared that we can look for no amelioration for the worker till his work is such that he can joy in its performance; and socialistic writers have hoped that a simpler life and the multiplication of mechanical contrivances would gradually reduce such labour as—they hold—must always be degrading, to a minimum. But it never seems to have occurred to them that, under certain fortunate conditions, no work need necessarily degrade. We might well believe it to be a contradiction in terms—an impossibility—did we not see this miracle with our own eyes in Japan.

I suppose we should consider that one of the most degrading and unsexing occupations possible for women would be the coaling of ships. And yet at Kobe we find the ships are coaled by strings of happy, healthy, laughing girls, who are not in the least demoralized by their daily labour. This is such a typical result that it is worth while to inquire how it comes about. Is it due to their light-hearted natures? or the healthy conditions under which innumerable generations have been bred? or to the inborn self-respect which comes from the mental atmosphere in which they have been reared—an atmosphere made up of susceptibility to beauty, alert delight in perfection for its own sake, and willing obedience to right-reasoned custom?

Perhaps to all three! I cannot dogmatize on the cause, but there is the wonderful result for us to envy. Men, women, and children work in the manufacturies from twelve to sixteen hours a day at wages from a penny to two shillings. A man will marry and bring up a family worthily on a shilling a day. He does not "go under." His children grow up unstunted in mind and body, enjoying life and filling their appointed "place" with all the zest of "the privileged."

There may be submerged individuals who are what is called "unfit," but there are no masses of submerged. There is no class born into the world under such hopeless conditions that it must inevitably grow up in misery, brutalized and unfit. Such

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conditions don't exist; they could not. There is no "abyss," because the Japanese nature could not allow one to eat its way down into society. Our cities fester into slums, while theirs spread forth in one-storied houses—paper-partitioned, floored with stainless matting, and flanked with miniature gardens for amenity and prettiness. Almost all our philanthropy and charitable institutions, our efforts to succour and raise the wretched—noble and indeed necessary as they are—resemble Mrs. Partington's mop in this: they are struggling to counteract evils which our civilization is as constantly creating. Therein lies our civilization's comparative failure. Our search for mitigations proves how harshly its machinery works with us. The very word "relief" stands for a universal need. We are all seeking "relief," or winning "relief," or giving "relief," from the inevitable conditions under which we live. Theirs runs so smoothly that they have little need of compensations. It may be lower; it is, at any rate, different. And I am not for a moment suggesting that we should imitate it. Such attempt, besides being foolish and futile, would be impossible. But the terrible truth we have to face is this: their civilization fulfils its purpose, making the whole people happy, efficient, and, as far as may be, prosperous, while ours does not! And theirs succeeds because their principles and practice virtually coincide, while ours makes but the poorest pretence to do so. Is it not worse than useless—indeed, a mockery—to have the highest code of conduct if you scarce attempt to live near its teaching? This inconsistency yawns still more shockingly between the example we Christian nations set and the Christianity we profess. I had not intended to touch on our failure to live the life of our religion, but I cannot refrain from quoting the words of a man I met. "We think yours is a glorious faith," he said, "with the highest and most noble precepts, but we see no signs of its influence in the conduct of your nations—or, indeed, in that of the individuals who come here. We should be ashamed to profess to follow the Sermon on the Mount and act as you do."

"The central moral teachings of Shintoism," writes Professor Nitobe, in "Japan and the Japanese," "seem to me to be these: know thyself; reflect into thy mind; see in thy heart a god enthroned, appointing this or commanding that; obey his mandate, and thou needest no other gods."

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I shall venture to quote the following passages from his article, because they may help us to understand the controlling forces of his nation's life:—

"If I were to designate in English the *ensemble* of Japanese ethical ideas," he writes, "I would use the term chivalry; this coming nearest to what is known among us as *Bushido*. The literal significance of *Bushido* is *fighting knight-ways*, and we may more freely translate it as teachings of knightly behaviour, or precepts of knighthood, or perhaps even the code of honour." It was originally the *noblesse oblige* of the Samurai class, and "has survived all the wrecks of feudalism, and however marred and mutilated it may be, its potency cannot be doubted. It is in its might that we live, move, and have our being."

"The truth is, that Bushido is the totality of the moral instincts of the Japanese race; and as such it was in its elements coeval with our blood, and therefore also with our religion of Shintoism."

"If Christianity taught us to be stewards of our wealth, Bushido taught us to be stewards of our health; and if Christianity taught that our body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, Bushido learned from Shintoism that in our tenement of clay is a Divine immanence."

"The very duties that man performs are, according to our idea, not to buy salvation for himself; he has no prospect of a reward in heaven offered him, if he does this or does not do that. The voice of Conscience, 'Thou good and faithful servant,' is the only and utmost reward. The first requisite for a perfect *Samurai* was ever to keep account with himself. Conscience, called among us by the comprehensive term *Kokoro* (which may mean mind, spirit, and heart as well) was the only criterion of right and wrong. But we know that conscience is a power of perception, and the whole tenor of *Bushido* being activity, we were taught the Socratic doctrine—though Socrates was as unknown to us as the X-rays—that thought and action are one and the same.

"Whatever Conscience approves is Rectitude, and whatever enables us to obtain the latter in conformity with the former is Courage."

"This rectitude or justice was considered inseparable from courage. Rectitude was, indeed, the sole justifying condition

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for the exercise of Valour. Only the rightness of a cause was determined, not by utilitarian argument, but solely by subjective moral judgment. It was the motive, not the end, that imparted justness to conduct."

Bushido held Benevolence as the crowning attribute of a noble spirit. It taught that it was cowardice to crush a fallen man; that it was manly to help the weak and show sympathy to women and children; that a man is truly Samurai who feels in his heart, pity. For if Rectitude gives form to character, Benevolence imparts quality and tone to it."

Bushido, like Christianity, was a doctrine of duty and service. "The governing and the governed were alike taught to serve a higher end, and to that end to sacrifice themselves. Did a monarch behave badly, Bushido did not lay before the suffering people the panacea of a good government by regicide."

"The love that we bear to our Emperor naturally brings with it a love for the country over which he reigns. Hence our sentiments of patriotism. Nay—there is another source from which our patriotism is fed: it is that the land guards in its bosom the bones of our fathers; and here I may dwell awhile on Filial Piety."

"Whatever the origin of Filial Love, Mr. Herbert Spencer evidently thinks it is a waning trait in an evolving humanity; and I am aware that everywhere there are signs of its giving way to individualism and egotism; especially does this seem to be the case in Christendom." But, with the Japanese, filial love is still part of the great triology of duty.

"Self-mastery, the maintenance of equanimity of temper under conditions the most trying in war or peace; of composure and presence of mind in sudden dangers; of fortitude in times of calamities and reverses, was exercised as one of the primary virtues of a man of action; it was even drilled into youths by genuine Spartan methods."

"Stoicism is a point insisted upon constantly in our self-culture; so that no sooner is our heart stirred than the will is brought into reflex motion to subdue it. Is a man angry?—it is bad taste to rage; let him laugh out his indignation. Has tribulation stricken him?—let him bury his tears in smiles?" This constant endeavour to maintain serenity of mind is part of the Japanese sense of politeness and civility.

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"The underlying idea of politeness," he continues, "is to make your company and companionship agreeable to others. It is the first condition of good society. Etiquette, therefore, may be studied as one studies music for the voice, or mathematics for mental discipline. Etiquette is not an end in *Bushido* culture; it is one of the many ways whereby man may cultivate his spiritual nature. Politeness must conform to the precept to rejoice with those who rejoice, and weep with those who weep, or, rather, to rejoice with those who rejoice, and not let others weep when you weep. Stoicism and politeness, apparently so far apart, are in reality brother and sister; he bears all that she may shine; without her he is stolid; without him she is trivial." Yet "the moment sincerity is set aside, the most gentle behaviour has no justification for being lauded. Mere empty forms and phrases were abhorred by the stern ethics of *Samurai-ism*. Esoteric Bushido, if I may use the term, would not tolerate any word or act lacking veracity."

In concluding the quotations I will cite this fine avowal: "I confess," he says, "I feel a difference without being able to express it, between Love as taught by Christ, and Benevolence upon which *Bushido* never ceases from insisting. But this I believe—that Bushido, grounding itself in the light that lighteth every man coming into the world, anticipated a more glorious revelation of Love."

I have quoted so much from this noble "apologia" (which you probably already know) because it sets us an example and a lesson.

It is not only the results of an action that matter, but the motive prompting them. The result affects others; the motive acts and reacts on ourselves. To imply that we should strive towards the highest conduct from a mere desire to perfect self, would be a mistake. It would be too self-regarding. The Japanese idea of conduct includes a mutual concession for the good of all. And so far, there is the cultivation of a very valuable virtue—self-sacrifice.

But I think the Japanese carry the motive further. For self-sacrifice goes for little—it may even be a form of selfishness—unless it has been prompted by that ideal of high endeavour which looks for no reward beyond its own fulfilment.

And this motive should be striven for, under the guidance of

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a self-respect so scrupulous that it would make any lower conduct impossible—irrespective of result to ourselves. If we really have this ideal, we shall be as eager to help others anonymously as we are when we hope by this means to win their affection or regard. That is the practical test of every social action.

To continue. *One of the secrets of a wise life is to have luxuries if you will, but as few necessities as possible*, to limit wants while multiplying pleasures. The Japanese may have luxuries (rightly enjoyed as delightful superfluities), but they curtail their necessities to the fewest possible. We, on the other hand, tend to multiply our necessities and constantly reinforce them with converted luxuries. The luxury of this year becomes the necessity of next! It is through their aspiration for a fastidious and symmetrical simplicity that the Japanese are able to dispense with superfluities in order to make the most of what is essential. They would consider more than one flower in one vase, one picture on the wall, one or two stools by way of furniture in a room, a luxury, probably a vulgar luxury, while with six times that number we should consider we had hardly yet attained the minimum of necessity. Though their winter is colder than ours, they would no more consider a winter fire a necessity than we should consider it the opposite.

Another secret is to limit possessions, but choose them with the most fastidious care. We do not sufficiently realize how much more than twice as beautiful our possessions would seem, if we had but half the number, with twice the beauty.

Not only is this the spirit in which the Japanese select and display their curios, but their whole view of life is founded on its principle. We are too apt to think *multitude, vastness, ostentation* as qualities glorious and desirable in themselves, apart from any questions of how far they fulfil their function. Our hotels advertise 300, 400, 500 bedrooms as being an irresistible attraction. They are! And yet, oddly enough, few of us occupy more than one. Our advertisements grow more and more multitudinous and staring; because, when we have seen an article named in sufficiently large letters a more than sufficient number of times, it would appear that we are compelled to buy it. Just as 500 ballet-girls dancing on a stage are considered more alluring than 50, so a cliff 1000 feet high

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is considered obviously more picturesque than another of 100. Could we find one of ten times a thousand we should doubtless consider that ten times more picturesque still.

The beauty of a landscape is popularly held to be in proportion to its comprehensiveness. Thus we are told the view from one mountain is beautiful because we can see three counties at the same time, but that the view is still more beautiful from another, because we can see five! The Japanese perhaps go to the other extreme. They have, I think, a tenderness for little things, because of their engaging littleness. But, in spite of this predilection, their governing test (like that of the Greeks) is, ultimately, fitness. A thing, with them, is beautiful or desirable, or right, because it is *the fittest for its purpose.*

A third secret of a wise life is to consider not merely the end to be gained by any given action, but to regard the means used as of equal consequence. They—being looked at from another point of view—being also ends in themselves. Thus every action should be controlled by two motives: what do I wish it to effect; and how shall I perform it most faultlessly for its own sake, with the consequent satisfaction to my sense of perfection?

Here I am going to venture on repeating what I have already said elsewhere. "With us almost all things are regarded as means to an end. Does it saves us trouble? or what shall we gain by it?" are the questions we oftenest ask ourselves. This is known as practical common sense. With the Japanese everything (though it may be only "a means") tends also to be regarded as *an end* in itself; any act worth doing at all should be done delightfully, so as to multiply delight.

Take the simplest movement — the lifting of a cup to the lips, for example. If we thought about it at all, I suppose we should hold that the aim of the action was to get the cup there as straight as possible. With the Japanese it would not be merely that; he would wish to give you a gesture — something either beautiful or significant—to embroider the action pleasantly, as it were.

In Mr. Mempes's book on Japan he tells us that the boy who brought in his morning shaving-water, before putting it down, always looked round to select a place where it would make the most decorative harmony with the rest of the room.

This incident—so slight, yet so typical—is worth quoting,

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because it illustrates the kind of test to which his countrymen submit their conduct. And this spirit, this desire not only to effect the end but to make the means a scrupulous harmony, runs through their whole way of dealing with life. With us at the present time, the words *strenuousness* and *efficiency* have almost become a commonplace at the tip of pen and tongue. We see them tossed from speech to print, and back from print to speech. Let us hope that their beat—like the recurrent beat of shuttlecock against battledores—will hammer their significance into our heads. We need them. They stand for essential qualities in which we are sadly lacking. When we do strive to be strenuous and efficient, we seem overweighted with the effort. If not depressed, we are at least solemnized by the burden. The hungry generations tread us down. We become the slaves of duty—willing slaves, perhaps, but scarcely gay ones.

The Japanese have these qualities in their blood. Their pre-eminence proves it. But not content with this, they adorn them with a most enviable faculty of sweetening duty with joy and making effort trip to gaiety.

"In John Bull's Other Island," one of Mr. Bernard Shaw's characters gives his idea of heaven as of a commonwealth "where work is play and play is life." Life in Japan comes near to that. With us it is—we are taught and know too well —a vale of tears. Would that we—like they—could learn to transform it into a garden of smiles.

They are not merely immensely intelligent and alert. They carry everything through with the eagerness of schoolboys in a football match—the laughing yet breathless gusto of blind-man's buff. Yet this eagerness is not at the mercy of mere emotion, but is governed by the coolest judgment and the most carefully trained calculation. Nothing is left to chance. Their feelings are never allowed to carry them away. This combination of emotional force and self-control may be compared to the playing of a great actor who has laboriously studied every movement and inflection by which his part may be made the more effective. And so, having built it up with laborious care, he knows he may trust to the thrill of public presentation to bring it forth to life.

Genius is a word to be used with caution. It has the unsatisfactory ambiguity of all question-begging terms. But who

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can doubt that the Japanese are filled with something akin to it? They have the passionate concentration and the wings that soar. They have its hunger for perfect expression.

Our general ideal seems to be the carrying of things just far enough to escape detection or failure. We boast of having "just scraped through." We are proud of being able "to muddle through somehow."

But what the Japanese, like the Greeks, desire is faultlessness for its own sake, apart from what is gained by it; *perfection for the sake of perfection*—that is the ideal they strive for.

Beauty, like happiness, is one of their necessities. It comes only next to the primary needs of the body—food, clothing, shelter, and so forth. Indeed, these would be held unsatisfying unless refined by its presence.

When it is a fugitive and seasonable beauty, it is anticipated and made the most of with even more delight. While the plum and cherry trees are flowering in spring, every spare hour that can be snatched from work is given up to the happiness of being among their blossoms once again—refreshing the heart in the sunny ways that become at last a bath of showering petals.

In the earliest summer morning, people by hundreds will gather by the lake, where the lotus-flowers float, to watch their petals open to the dawn.

When dark has fallen on a festival, every one hangs out his lighted lanterns to make the night a feast of mellowed fire, so that the beauty one sees by day shall catch a new enchantment from those fantastic caterers.

It is only natural that their idea of beauty should differ somewhat from ours. The difference seems to lie in this: We hold that the source of beauty is Nature—Nature untroubled and untouched by man. I think they would hold that this only gave us beauty in solution, and that it could not be found in full perfection till it had been precipitated by conscious art. We know that they go so far as to control the curves of their flower-stems and even modify the growth of trees. Every garden is planned to correct the crudities of Nature's wildness. They are not quite satisfied till a touch of artificiality has been added to the raw landscape. Their idea is that everything must be considered, and nothing left to chance, if one would

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achieve the absolutely right effect. To them beauty comes most completely when Nature has been most skilfully dealt with—has been humanized, as it were. With them it is there from intention, with us from accident. I am not arguing that their view is a truer one than ours, though it was the classical one, and has been the one held by every beauty-loving people in the great flowering times of art. But it has, at least, this advantage: it has enabled them (like the Greeks and the Italians of the Renaissance) to evolve all decorative arts till they have grown to be as exquisite as they are universal.

In what is known as the "Nara period," Japanese art was chiefly religious, or, at any rate, subservient to religion. But after that it gradually ceased to be so, and becoming secularized, grew more individual and independent. For the last thousand years (in spite of the Daibutzu at Kamakura) it could hardly be called religious.

While all the finest European art has (in the main) striven either to embody ideal beauty, or to express the worship of the soul, or to make us realize the magic of natural things, Japanese art has sought chiefly to please, and to please in a particular way.

The underlying motive of our art is *satisfaction;* the underlying motive of theirs would seem to be *surprise.* A pleasurable surprise! They have doubtless a delicate sense of balance; but they often intentionally depart from it to tickle the beholder with a kind of banter in design. Nothing may quite match. Set patterns are disliked. The mechanical repeat of ornament is avoided. What they look for is the unexpected—a wilful perversity—a playfulness that shall put the artist, the material, and the beholder on the happiest terms with one another. This pleasantry is most noticeable in their smaller things—metal-work, ivory-carving, and so forth. The pleasure comes from the pleasure of the artificer in his ocular *bon mot.*

While our art is dignified and solemn with its message of edification, theirs is bubbling over with the joy of life. Our idea of a picture is fundamentally a hole cut in the wall, while theirs is a flat space of cunning decoration. It is a suggestion—not a reproduction. We hold that a picture is an isolated illustration bounded by its frame; they would unroll and hang theirs—an exquisitely selected memory—as part of a transitory scheme of

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adornment. I am not comparing the two conceptions with any intention of depreciating ours; but in order that we may at least understand their point of view.

We assert, for instance, that they cannot draw in perspective. Yet how can we be sure that they don't ignore it deliberately, on principle—that while we should consider a picture spoilt by being so treated, they might consider it was equally spoilt by being (what we should call) correct? And for this reason. A picture to them, being a surface treated pictorially, should retain its superficial character to please the eye by its deft arrangement of lines and colours, instead of affronting it with a trick—and a bad trick at best! For elaborate perspective can only be absolutely true from one given point of view; while a picture is looked at from many! It might thus be maintained, I venture to think, that far from being without this sense, they have it in such acuteness, they prefer to do without perspective rather than see it falsified.

The Japanese are, or were, so sensible about clothing—I mean, of course, the absence of it—that I cannot refrain from making another suggestion.

Might it not be possible that their feeling for beauty is so sensitive, they unconsciously know their bodies are more pictorial when daintily draped, and therefore refrain from painting the nude—especially the female nude—in their more serious pictures? That idea, like the last on perspective, is merely a fancy thrown out for what it is worth.

The art of any civilization—to be vital art—must be the genuine expression of its idiosyncrasy.

That is why foreign influence is so dangerous. It supplants sincerity by mimicry. If it should ever become the rule for the best artists in Japan to imitate ours, the days of her art will be numbered. There are, of course, even now, many Japanese painters who paint little things in the European style; their work clever and pretty, no doubt, yet utterly lacking distinction and individuality. But if you want a revelation of the danger that already gapes for their ruin, you should see the work of the students in the schools who have undergone what is called the European course of study. It would be laughable if it were not so distressing. For it is, most naturally, a hodge-podge of all incongruous styles—say, that of Rembrandt, Claud Monet,

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and Frith in the same amazing picture. Though we are unlikely to mimic their art, as they unfortunately are beginning to mimic ours, it would be as disastrous were we to attempt it. What we might seek to learn and imitate is the secret which makes their art so blithe, so universal. The quantity of beautiful things in Japan is amazing; but the real amazement lies in the absence of ugly ones.

They have no desire to mechanically reproduce by the score. The joy of the artist lives in creation, and not in reduplication. He thinks as well as labours; and his happiness and love of beauty make his craftsmanship happy and beautiful. He has no temptation to produce the hideous—unless it is to satisfy the European market. "It is so curious," said a Japanese to me, "that you Europeans only want us to make what is cheap and ugly."

I hope to touch immediately on this growing passion of ours for the unlovely.

In the meantime I would add that not alone in production, but in acquirement and arrangement, the Japanese show their instinct for the essential nature of things. It reveals itself in a feeling for *limitation*, so that each thing may be given its fullest æsthetic value—for *relationship*, each being considered in its relation to every other—and for *selection*, by which the inharmonious and inopportune may be excluded.

We Europeans are beginning to develop some such instinct; and on the Continent are already losing ourselves in the mazes of *l'art nouveau*. That at least is an effort in the right direction, even though it does not always arrive unspotted by eccentricity. But along with this, we, being somewhat weary of insipid prettiness in pictorial art, have started on the hunt for ugliness, and often bag the revolting for our pains. We began by asking for character in beauty, then we went for beauty in character, now we too often drop the last shred of beauty to leave character stripped and staring at us a little gauntly.

I hasten to reassure you! I will not attempt a definition of beauty in art. But I have no hesitation in saying that many of the subjects through which it now seeks to reveal itself are unfortunately selected. Scarcely a modern exhibition of European paintings, for instance, is considered complete without one or more of Zuloaga's paintings. He is extremely clever. He

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paints with the conscientiousness of a pioneer delivering a gospel of conviction. His eye sees and his hand records perfectly what he loves to see and reproduce for our delectation —his influence is proportional to his sincerity and skill—that is why he is to me, at least, so absolutely terrifying.

There seems no trace in Japanese art of this deliberate creed of the debased and vile. If a Japanese choose for his subject that which might be considered such, he would play with it daintily, artfully. He would not rub it in. In his grotesque there is always something quaint and joyous. It peeps out as a freak of the imagination—a *jeu d'esprit.* You feel that the artist has a mischievous whim to surprise, even to shock, perhaps; but that if he ventures to play a practical joke on beauty, it is because he knows her so well, she will join him in the jest.

With us the grotesque tends to grow more squalid and degrading, just as on the Continent it is growing ever more sinister and depressing—I had almost said depraving—in its mirth.

While the French get their humour hot and stinging from the pens of Steinlen and Forain and their followers, our native sense of humour is fed by our national comic paper. I allude, of course, to the weekly bulletin of *Ally Sloper* recorded by his "Tootsie." He is our great half-holiday man of light and leading. Then take our variety shows! You could not have a better test, for the real taste of a nation is shown in the programme of its popular amusements. At one time we enjoyed the clown and nigger minstrel (vulgar, perhaps, but harmless). We were content with the fun we always find in the doings of an elderly father of a family, somewhat out at elbow, a little the worse for drink, his nose red, his hat battered, hiccoughing out facetious reminiscences of rows and booze, and brokers' men; or, funnier still, in the ancient lady (acted by a man) with bald head and blotchier features—if possible, a greater shame to sex and humanity.

But our passion for ugliness, always unsatisfied, has of late years been nourished by stronger stimulants. Those who live to please us have invented a still more revolting type for our laughter and delight. Originally born, I believe, in America, it has spread everywhere, and under the name of "eccentric

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acrobats," or "musical grotesques," and "tramp cyclists," has conquered Europe. The old, graceful, spangled, pink-fleshed visions are vanishing before a humour which lies in producing a thing so inhuman and disgusting that it beats the dreams of imagination hollow. What chance is left for clown or nigger minstrel? We laughed at and liked them, as we laughed and liked the familiar sot and the shameful lady; but it is the aberration "novelties" that we have taken to our bosoms.

I suppose that we who have been brought up from childhood under the glamour of the late Mr. Herbert Campbell can hardly judge these things impartially. But would it not be well if we could imitate Japan in adding a need for joyousness and charm, for imagination or originality, to our appreciation of the laughable grotesque.

We hear so much about physical culture nowadays that perhaps it would be superfluous to say much about Ju-jitsu. But I should like to point out that, though primarily intended to teach the art of self-defence, it includes all the principles by which a nation can work out its physical well-being.

The tricks of combat it teaches are perhaps the least valuable of its lessons. It is not merely a form of exercise, but a whole scheme of life which aims at developing the vital laws of right living, so that in Japan weakness or long illness are considered to be the misfortune of only the very aged. "It is the system of exercise, diet, and general mode of living," says Mr. Irving Hancock, "that has made the Mikado's people the healthiest, strongest, and happiest men and women in the world." Its method is to build up the digestion, heart, and lungs, before it attempts to strengthen the muscles. It brings the body to a state of the highest possible fitness, while teaching self-control and the graces of an even temper. We see its results in the marvellous strength and endurance of their soldiers in the field, able probably to do twice the work on half the food that European troops could accomplish.

The position of women is a ticklish subject to touch in a paper discoursing on lessons to be learnt from Japan. I will therefore water it warily with verbal qualifications and the subjunctive mood. When we imagine their position a degraded one, we may be judging somewhat superficially. But even if we are doing so, I admit that as far as their women are concerned,

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they have probably more to learn from us than we from them —assuming that happiness is not the end of life. For if it comes to a question of mere happiness, their women are probably happier than ours, though about such a comparison it would be foolish to dogmatize.

I would, however, like to suggest one point on which our latest views seem increasingly to differ. We tend more and more to assume that the two sexes are identical—or at least to treat them as though they were so. With the Japanese they are still regarded as being complementary. Each sex, they hold, has its separate place and mission in life, its separate function in the organism of society. If woman's place there seems to us to be inferior to man's, perhaps the view comes from our Western misapprehension. If it be really lower, it is a grave defect, though it must not for a moment be assumed that she is not treated with the highest respect and greatest affection. Anyway, its result brings out the most valuable and endearing qualities. Trained (even more than boys are trained) to the bliss of self-abnegation and self-devotion, her ideal of life is to make those around her happy.

The ambition of every woman (like those of Sparta mentioned by Plutarch) is to be worthy of being the wife of a great man and the mother of illustrious sons.

"Peaceful accomplishments—music, dancing, *belles lettres*, etc., are not to be neglected; but readiness for emergency, housekeeping, and the education of children are considered by far the most weighty lessons to be learnt. The inuring of nerves to hardship is a necessary part of their training," for they consider that the essence of consideration for others lies in self-control. That is why—however ill, or cross, or unhappy they may be—they always make a point of appearing cheerful, with that gentle sweetness which forgets itself in ministering to the joy of others.

I suppose that the idea of establishing a university exclusively for women would not be regarded by us with much favour at the present time. For many reasons it would probably be a wise step, but we should howl it down as retrograde (though why we should do so, unless in obedience to the latest swing of popular opinion, I do not know).

I will therefore content myself by quoting from Professor

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Jinzo Naruse, founder of the first university for women in Japan, that we may at least learn his people's ideal for her education.

"Up to about ten years ago," he says, "women's education had been too much directed towards art, literature, music, and various other accomplishments of a similar nature, and had slighted their mental and intellectual discipline. This is a great mistake. A woman's mind should be trained on its scientific and philosophical side. The importance of intellectual discipline for women cannot be overestimated. Women need to have their powers of observation and application cultivated. Their past associations, their present conditions, and their future needs must be taken into account in the aims and methods of their education. They need a peculiar one suited to their sex, yet they must be educated, not only as women, but also as members of society and citizens.

"Still further, they must be educated, not only as members of society, but also as souls. They must not be looked upon as things or instruments for practical uses, but as sacred human beings with faculties of mind and body that are capable of infinite development.

"There is another point to which we should give attention in the education of our girls. We should conduct our schools in such a way that the school-life may never disqualify them for their home-life when they finish their study and return to their homes. Modern education has many evils as well as advantages, and its greatest evils for girls is the danger of making them unfit for their future home duties. How to avoid this danger is a problem that remains to be solved in the future, not only in our country, but also in Western countries. At any rate, we sincerely believe that harmony between girls' school-life and their home-life must be one of the distinctive features of their education in the future."

He finally sums up the whole matter thus: "We must educate them first as souls, then as members of society, and then as women, or our education will never be perfect."

Had there been time, there are many other matters I should like to have touched on. Their marvellous advance in surgery, for instance (I note in Sir F. Treves's last book he writes, "The Japanese surgeon is no longer a servile imitator. He is introducing into his methods the results of his own ingenuity. Many

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features which, in Europe, are of the latest suggestion, have already been anticipated in Japan"), the question of how far their faculties and powers are increased by ambidexterity, the extraordinary perfection of their military and naval organization, the whole system of directing their national life. Nimble brains, healthy bodies, and perfect nerves will do much. But the main thing for us to realize is that what they have accomplished is due to a combination of these, inspired by eager intelligence and infinite patience.

I hope you have not gathered the impression that I think the Japanese are without faults. No nation could be immaculate. There is much that they might learn from us with advantage. But while they are doing so—perhaps too quickly and indiscriminately—how many lessons we might profitably take from them! I have hardly considered the practical examples we might follow, because I want us rather to apprehend the moving spirit that creates them. I want us to seek out the causes of their health and happiness and prosperity, their world of beauty, their universal courtesy, their finished completeness. While we are teaching them the principles of our so-called progress, let us strive at least to follow in their footsteps after "whatsoever things are lovely and whatsoever things are of good report."

And the future? For us it lies in a grey, machine-made world run by an ever-more complicated system of mechanical contrivances. For them it looms still darker. They will have joined us there; but the loss to them will be how much greater? For those children of genius will have eagerly trooped from a laughing world of gaiety and beauty to our black underworld of industrial competition. The summits of their civilization cannot convert us. We shall pervert them to ours. It is inevitable! Like the memory of Greece, the memory of that later Greece of the Pacific will alone be left wistfully to recall an ideal too fair and perfect to endure.

The CHAIRMAN called upon members or visitors for remarks.

Miss DE LOREZ, M.J.S.: I rise with a great deal of diffidence, as it is impossible to give language to the feeling one has for the charming appreciation which the lecturer has evinced for Japan, but, if I may, I will quarrel with one word in his last paragraph. After contrasting the

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industrial condition of Japan with our own, he went on to say that he thought it was inevitable that Japan should follow in our footsteps. But is it inevitable? The thing is not yet a *fait accompli*—is there no voice to cry in the wilderness so that the Japanese will pause in time to prevent the change?

Mr. KENNETH HAVERS: I hope the lecture which we have heard to-night may reach further than the confines of this room. The sentiments were expressed so delicately that no Englishman could take offence, and every Japanese would hear them with pleasure. I regret that the lecturer did not touch on one great feature of the Japanese people—their unobtrusiveness. America, a country for which I have a great deal of respect, has brought a great deal of humour into the national character. Now I wish to call attention to the Japanese character. If you compliment a Japanese on the character of his people, he has two ways of replying to it—one is to look uncomfortable and smile in an ashamed way; the other is to smile and bow and say, "We try to do our best." It is not a question of good or bad manners. It would be bad manners for a private individual to get up and say he was the best and cleverest person, etc., in the room, but people will assert very loudly in public places the superiority of their own nation in everything that can be named. Yet this is unnecessary, even if he really believes it, and the point that arises from this is that the quiet and unconscious virtue of the Japanese should be imitated by those people who are insulting other nations by holding themselves up as the pink of perfection and taking everything to themselves.

The CHAIRMAN: The late Lafcadio Hearn said of Japanese civilization that it was as difficult to understand as if a modern man were suddenly plunged into ancient Greece. At the same time, there are many things which we can learn from Japan. One occurs to me, namely, their agriculture, which has been going on for so many generations, and concerning which we have to go for our statistics to those published by the Agricultural Department of Washington. Owing to more than half of Japan being forest, 147,000 square miles only can be cultivated, and on this 42,000,000 people are supported; that has never before been known in the history of the world, and it means that every square mile supports no less than 2200 people by the genius and industry of the farmers. We have a great deal to learn from the agriculturists of Japan, as to how to make the best of our soil. Another thing we have to look for is the universality of those engaged in agriculture. There are many societies in London which do their best to inculcate a love of flowers; amongst the poor in Japan every coolie knows how to make flowers grow for his own enjoyment. And that is one thing we have to put before us for emulation in Japanese life.

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Mr. W. HARDING-SMITH (*Member of Council, J.S.*): I have great pleasure in rising to propose a Vote of Thanks to our lecturer for his delightful and poetic paper. I have been very much struck by one or two of his remarks, one being "that beauty in solution is precipitated by human art." How often in natural subjects we see a landscape beautiful in itself, but the feature of which is some old building, the work of human art, which puts the keystone to the whole subject. I think that is a very apt saying. The "surprise" infused is another charming feature of Japanese art. The picture in our houses is often ruined by the inevitable gold frame; the Japanese have not that because gold frames could not be hung in their houses. The lecturer made another remark that the Japanese leave nothing to chance. A frequent definition of genius is "attention to every detail, and nothing to chance."

Professor J. H. LONGFORD (*Member of Council, J.S.*) seconded the vote.

The LECTURER: I have to thank you very much for the kind way you have responded to the Vote of Thanks. In reply to one remark in the discussion on my paper, I did not say that it was inevitable that Japan should be overshadowed by our social life, but it is more than probable, for it is impossible for a nation to take only the good. The multiplication of mechanical contrivances tends to abolish all picturesqueness, and at present I am afraid the Japanese may think it necessary to adopt our mechanical contrivances; I can only hope they will not. The only lesson we can learn from Japan is to assimilate her spirit. The Japanese toil at a thing in the most extreme way, and yet do it laughing all the time.

The proceedings then terminated.

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THE

EIGHTIETH ORDINARY MEETING,

(FIFTH OF THE FOURTEENTH SESSION,)

MARCH 8TH, 1905.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, London.*]

Mr. CHARLES HOLME, F.L.S., *Chairman of Council, J.S.*, took the Chair at 8.30 P.M., when a Paper on "ENGLAND'S RECORD IN JAPAN" was read by Professor JOSEPH HENRY LONGFORD, *Member of Council, J.S.*

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said: We are fortunate this evening in having a paper which should be to all English people, whether men or women, of particular interest, namely, The Record of England in Japan. Especially should it be so as we have as lecturer one who for thirty-three years has been a resident in Japan, and in the consular service has visited every part of Japan, and therefore has had every opportunity of knowing and judging thoroughly the subject he has to bring before us to-night.

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ENGLAND'S RECORD IN JAPAN.

By PROFESSOR JOSEPH HENRY LONGFORD,
Member of Council, J.S.

I DO not propose to attempt to tell you this evening anything that is entirely new. There are indeed at the present day very few subjects connected with Japan on which it would be possible to say much that is so; perhaps the only one of importance is the domestic and family life of the upper classes, of which, notwithstanding our fifty years' association, absolutely nothing definite is as yet known to us. But if there is nothing new in what I shall tell you, nothing which those among you who have the time and inclination to investigate for yourselves might not have found out, I hope to give you a short and general sketch of the part which England has played in the modern development of Japan, in originally leading her into the paths of Western civilization, in guiding her along those paths while they were as yet unfamiliar to her, and in promoting both her political and material progress. Other Western nations have contributed their help, Germany and France especially, Italy in at least one important item; and both in political and material development the United States have exercised a great and beneficial influence; but even the aggregate of all that has been done for Japan by all the other political and commercial Powers of the West is scarcely surpassed by what has been done by England alone. Her assistance has not invariably been given in the gentlest manner, but severe, even rough treatment, is occasionally not only necessary, but in the very best interests of truculent and bigoted adherents of ancient conservative prejudice, and I hope I may be able to show you that, however rough were the measures which England was occasionally compelled to adopt in the early days of our intercourse, so far

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from having anything to blush for, her whole record is one of which she may now, when viewing its brilliant results, well be proud, and that the most extreme Nationalist among the Japanese themselves will, now that those measures can be judged in the cold light of history, be forced to admit that they were necessary at the time and were entirely beneficial in their results. The roll of able and distinguished Englishmen who have served Japan, either indirectly, while officials of their own Government, or directly, while in the actual employment of that of Japan, in the latter case invariably with a degree of conscientious devotion that was on a par with their professional efficiency, is a long one, so long that I shall to-night refer to very few among them except those who are no more of this world, and even that list is too full to be exhausted within the limits of a paper such as this. And as of the men, so of their works. I can only give the most sketchy outline. But the whole will form a text on which you can think out your own sermons at your leisure.

To enable you to understand fully all the influences which contributed to Japan's regeneration, it is necessary that I should, before proceeding with the main subject, give you a brief sketch of the early history of Japan's foreign associations, and of what she was fifty years ago, when the first treaties were made by which she was brought into intercourse with the outside world. She had then her own high degree of civilization, founded 1300 years previously on that which continues to the present day in China, but she was utterly ignorant of every element of Western science, equally ignorant of the most elementary knowledge of the geography, history, politics, and comparative strength of all the great Powers of the world. For 250 years she had remained in absolute seclusion, her own people forbidden to leave the country, those who were carried away from it by accidents of the seas forbidden ever to return, and Europeans, with the exception of one nationality, equally forbidden to land on her sacred shores under the penalty of death. During all that period, Japanese manners, habits, and customs remained entirely unchanged, and what the people were at the beginning of the seventeenth they were also in the middle of the nineteenth century. Throughout it the Emperor—"the cloistered Emperor," as he was called by themselves, or

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"the ecclesiastical hereditary Emperor," as he was described by the Dutch historian, Kaempfer—remained in sacred isolation at the ancient capital of Kyōto, revered by the whole nation as the divinely descended legitimate sovereign of the land, but as inaccessible and invisible to any class of the population as he was, on his own side, powerless to influence the administration of the Government for either weal or woe. The *de facto* sovereign was the Shōgun, the Vice-Gerent, whose court was at Tōkyo, and who, always in the name and by virtue of the authority conferred on him by the Emperor, but in theoretical absolutism, ruled the whole Empire. Subject to him were the territorial lords or barons, his own peers in rank, each of whom was the lord of a greater or less domain, in the cases of the most powerful among them amounting to entire provinces, which each governed as an *imperium in imperio*, in practical independence and absolutism as far as regarded the entire internal administration, with its own laws, currency, army, and general executive administration, though ostensibly subject to the Shōgun as the chief executive authority of the State, and nominally responsible to him for the efficient administration of his domain. The Shōgun's own landed possessions, as an ordinary nobleman, were the greatest of all, and his near relatives in blood were among the most powerful, next to himself, of the territorial lords. Among the others, there was not one who could cope with him single-handed, and there was neither union nor sympathy among any of them. Each lived for himself and his own people. National was swallowed up in local patriotism. In every man's mind duty to his own immediate feudal lord and to his own clan came before that which he owed to the only executive authority of the Empire and to the Empire itself, with the result that, had the occasion arisen, there would have been no enthusiastic and unanimous consolidation of the whole armed strength of the nation for the repulse of foreign aggression. Fortunately for the Japanese, the great Powers of Europe were too much occupied with affairs near at hand, with their own quarrels, to concern themselves with an unknown land so far away as to be inaccessible. In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese and the Dutch, the most enterprising commercial and maritime Powers, if not in the whole world, in the East at any rate, obtained a secure

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commercial foothold, and opened a highly prosperous trade with Japan. The accident of a ship, while on a voyage to China, being driven out of her course, first made the Portuguese acquainted with the new country, and the reports of the successful trade which they succeeded in establishing soon reached their rivals, the Dutch. Both the Portuguese and Dutch in those days hated each other with the virulent hatred, not only of commercial rivals, but of religious antagonists. Fervent Catholic missionaries followed the Portuguese traders to Japan, and for a period met with such success that they held no unreasonable hopes of the speedy conversion of the entire nation to Christianity. Unfortunately, they did not confine themselves to religious propagandism, and interference in local politics and government converted good-will on the part of the native authorities into hatred and toleration, at a period when religious toleration existed in no other part of the world, into a bitter and relentless persecution, which culminated in the expulsion of the Portuguese, both missionaries and traders—many, very many, of the former having first met with martyrdom—and the extermination of all the native Christians, not however, without a hard-fought struggle on the part of the latter. In that struggle, the Japanese Government of the time received every encouragement and material assistance from the Dutch, with whom neither the common bond of Christianity nor the ties of race and colour were sufficient to counteract the hatred of sect or the jealousy of commercial competition. They were ready to and did persuade the Japanese that religious conversion was only an antecedent step to political subjugation; they furnished them with firearms to be used against the bows and arrows of the native Christians; and as a reward, when Japan was hermetically closed against all the rest of the world, to the Dutch alone was reserved the right of maintaining a small factory at Nagasaki. There for 250 years, they carried on a trade so prosperous that it brought abundant wealth to all who were concerned in it, either collectively or individually, both to the Dutch East India Company and to its employees. Three years' service in the factory was sufficient to enable the latter to acquire a competency for life. But while the Japanese had been ready to profit by the venal assistance of the Dutch and by the trade which they brought, they were keen and clear-

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sighted enough to recognize that the Dutch had acted as traitors to their own kin and faith, and honourable enough to regard them with the utter contempt that a high-spirited people always show to mercenaries and traitors, and the history of the Jews at their worst period in the Middle Ages shows no more striking incidents of abject servitude than does that of the Dutch traders in Japan.

The members of the factory were rigidly interned as close prisoners from year's end to year's end in the little island of Desima, barely a few acres in extent, in the harbour of Nagasaki, permitted to gaze but never to set foot upon the lovely hills around it; all direct association with the people other than the officials whose duty it was to deal with them was rigidly inhibited. I can remember myself an old Government notice, affixed to the bridge leading to the island, which still remained when I first visited Nagasaki: "No one is permitted to pass this gate except officials and destroyers of castles" (prostitutes). Communication with Batavia, the nearest Dutch colony, was limited to one ship a year, and as an illustration of their absolute isolation, I may here repeat the story of an incident which I have told before in another place, and which, so far as I know, has been told by no one else, either Japanese or foreigner. In 1810, Napoleon annexed Holland and all its colonies throughout the world, and Holland as an independent kingdom ceased to exist. But the little settlement in Japan was forgotten alike by both France and Holland. No ship was sent to it, and for four years, until the downfall of Napoleon restored the independence of the mother-country, its members remained in complete isolation and in utter ignorance of all the great events that were occurring in Europe. During the whole of this period their national flag was daily hoisted in the factory, and this was the one and only spot in the world in which it was flying.

Once a year the head of the factory and some of his staff were obliged to make a pilgrimage to Tōkyo, and during the whole of their long journey—a journey which can now be done in two days, but then occupied more than two months—they were subjected to the same rigid seclusion as in their homes at Desima, shut up during the daytime, while on their way, in closed chairs, and at night in the back rooms of the inns at

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which they were lodged, and permitted no manner of conversation, even with the domestics of the inn, male or female, except at night in the seclusion of their own rooms, through the bribed connivance of their guards. And as to their treatment in Tōkyo, I will quote Kaempfer's own words to show the light in which grave and serious Dutchmen, of high reputation and standing in their own country, were regarded by the Shōgun and his court :—

"We were welcomed in the Emperor's name, and then desired to sit down, to take off our cloaks, to tell our names and ages, to stand up, to walk, to turn about, to dance, to sing songs, to compliment one another, to be angry, to invite one another to dinner, to converse with one another, to discourse in a familiar way like father and son, to show how two friends or man and wife compliment or take leave of one another, to play with children, to carry them about in our arms, and to do many more things of a like nature."

All this took place in the antechamber for the edification of the subordinate officials of the Shōgun's court. Everything had to be done over again when they were in the presence of the Shōgun. "They were made to jump, dance, play gambols and walk together, to kiss one another like man and wife," etc., the Shōgun contemplating all from behind a screen, where he was himself invisible to the Dutch.

This is only one of many illustrations which might be given of the personal humiliations to which the Dutch readily subjected themselves; and when we remember Japan's early experience with foreigners, first the attempt on the part of the Portuguese Jesuits to associate political subjugation with religious propagandism, and the suffering brought upon the people thereby by civil war and ruthless persecution; secondly, the treachery shown by the Dutch both to their fellow-Europeans and the unhappy natives who claimed their sympathy as Christian converts; and lastly, the degraded subservience of the same Dutch for the sake of commercial gain, is it any wonder that when at last Japan was compelled to throw open her doors to foreigners of all nations, she did so only under the threats of force which she felt powerless to resist, or that during the first ten years of our intercourse, loathing and contempt of the foreign barbarians were mingled with a burning

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desire to purge the divine Land of the Gods of the stain inflicted on it by their presence within its limits? "Honour the Mikado and expel the foreigner" were through those ten years the universal watchwords of all the Samurai throughout the whole Empire, and the spirit engendered by these words was the direct cause of many of the brutal murders of innocent and inoffensive foreigners, English included, which were sad marks of the first stages of Japan's association with the world. The Shōgun and his Government, better able to judge of European military strength and Japan's weakness, had yielded to the threats of foreigners and admitted them to Japan; but what was considered by his own countrymen his pusillanimity and treachery to his legitimate sovereign in doing so destroyed all his ancient prestige, and contributed very largely to his own downfall and the restoration of the administrative power of the Emperor. During the first ten years of our direct intercourse with Japan, there was almost continuous civil war between, on the one side, the Shōgun and his adherents, anxious to maintain his effective authority, and bound at the same time by the treaty obligations into which they had entered with great Powers of the West, which were continually being pressed upon them by the diplomatic representatives of those Powers, themselves entirely ignorant of all the elements of Japanese history and politics; and on the other side, the territorial nobles, who, long jealous of the usurpation of the national Government by one of their own peers, were ready to avail themselves of any pretext for his overthrow, and were in addition actuated by an honest and sincere conviction that a large part of the future happiness and welfare of Japan depended on the expulsion of foreigners. The civil war ended in the complete overthrow of the Shōgun and the restoration of the Emperor, soon to be followed by the abolition of the old feudal tenures, and when the Empire was at last consolidated under a strong central Government, Japan started in her career of progress in Western civilization. The idea of expelling the foreigners by force, and breaking off foreign diplomatic relations, was abandoned in a moment as it were, and, led by thoughtful, far-seeing statesmen, the whole nation devoted itself eagerly to learning all that foreigners had to teach, with the ambition to enable their country to take an equal place in every sense with the Powers

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of the world, to make its glory shine beyond the seas which surrounded its shores.

The seclusion of Japan, broken only by the intercourse with the Dutch, had lasted for 250 years. Early in the period, Will Adams, the Englishman whose romantic story has already been fully told in this Society, lived and died in Japan and caused at least the name of England to be known to the government and some of the people. A factory was also established for a brief period in the early part of the seventeenth century by the East India Company, to which certain privileges of trading were granted, but its career was short-lived, the jealousy and the unscrupulous methods of the Dutch largely contributing to its ill success. In 1808, H.M.S. *Phaeton* visited Nagasaki, and these are the only two instances of which we have any reliable records of attempts on the part of the English to enter into any relations with the Japanese until the conclusion of Admiral Stirling's treaty. This treaty, modelled on that of Commodore Perry, was replaced a few years later by that of Lord Elgin, under which the rights of trade with and residence in Japan were at last granted to British subjects, and in accordance with the provisions of this treaty, Sir Rutherford Alcock was appointed first as Consul General and secondly as Minister to Japan. With his arrival in the country and the establishment at Yokohama of agencies of many of the great British firms already existing in China, political and commercial intercourse between England and Japan at last started fairly on its way, and the moral and material influence of England began to produce the results which were destined to contribute so much to Japan's future as a military and commercial Power. The time during which that influence was at its zenith may be divided into two periods—the first extending from the opening of the country to foreign intercourse in 1857, until the last and final stage of the Revolution, when feudalism was abolished in 1871. During this period, all the efforts of two of the ablest servants who have ever served Great Britain abroad were continuously and persistently devoted to impressing on the Japanese the sanctity of the treaty obligations which they had incurred with foreign Powers, in teaching them that the modern condition of the world forbade the isolation of any nation, and that they could under no circumstances hope ever to be

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permitted to return to their old policy of seclusion. It was by Commodore Perry, in the name of the United States, that Japan was first induced to assent to a very tentative departure from that policy. But his treaty, though it theoretically placed the first nails in the coffin of the ancient seclusion from the world, was practically nothing more than one of mere humanity. It guaranteed good treatment instead of imprisonment—and perhaps death—to the shipwrecked sailors of the United States; it gave the right to establish a consular agent at an insignificant port, far away from the capital, and it opened two ports, both of which were utterly useless for commercial purposes. It was subsequently by the consular agent appointed under the provisions of this treaty, the first foreign official of any nationality who resided in Japan, that she was induced to extend the original elementary treaties and to throw open to the world ports that promised to become the seats of a real trade. The story of how, unbacked by any display of force under his country's flag, he succeeded by his own personal efforts in doing so, in overcoming the traditional hatred of centuries to even the smallest association with foreigners, is one of marvellous tact and patience, of steady determination and courage, of straightforward uprightness in every respect, that is not exceeded by any in the entire history of the international relations of the world. But even he had material help in the name and by the might of England, without which all his efforts might have been in vain. England, with France as her ally, was then at war with China. She had large forces in the East near at hand, and, once done with China, these same forces might be used against Japan also to extort from her the more liberal treaties and extended commercial privileges which Mr. Harris was urging them to grant peacefully. And from the time when his arguments prevailed and the country was really opened, the two first British ministers, always in those days enjoying the advantages of a far higher degree of national prestige in the Far East than that of any other Power, always better informed of the internal condition of Japan than any of their colleagues, both possessing a long experience of dealing with Asiatics, and thorough judges of Asiatic character, qualities to which no other of those colleagues could lay claim, each in his turn took the lead in inducing Japan to abandon her old

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conservatism. And to each Japan is largely indebted for her first entry on the paths of Western civilization.

That Japan, sooner or later, would have been forced by circumstances to embark on the career in which she has since achieved such marvellous success, that her own sons would, even if unprompted by exterior influence, have seen the necessity of doing so if their national independence was to be preserved, is not open to the possibility of dispute, but that she took these steps at the time she did, at the very earliest stage in the administration of the Imperial Government, was largely, very largely, due to the persistent teaching of an earnest, masterful, and far-seeing English minister, and to the example of England's political and commercial greatness which was constantly before her eyes. Her people soon learned that England was a small insular country on the outskirts of Europe, just as was their own on the outskirts of Asia. But in those days, England, both in political and commercial influence in the Far East, far outshadowed every other Power in the world. She was first, and other Powers nowhere. Merchant shipping in the East was, with the insignificant exception of a few small German and Norwegian coasters, entirely under the British flag. British merchants in Japan were far above those of every other nationality in wealth, enterprise, upright dealing, and in number. The naval flag of England was displayed in every port. British troops were stationed in Japan to render to foreigners, without distinction of nationality, the protection which the Government, distracted in the throes of the struggles of the Revolution, could not itself guarantee, and the ability and unceasing energy of the British minister produced their reflex in the large diplomatic and consular staff under his command, the members of which, alone of all European diplomatic or consular officials, made themselves acquainted with the language, laws, history, and traditions of the country. Is it any wonder, then, that the Imperial Government of Japan, from its earliest days, took England as its model and guide, or any exaggeration to say that her example was a great and powerful factor in inducing it to abandon once and for all the antiquated and useless principles of Chinese civilization which had satisfied and been sufficient for it during the centuries of seclusion? But an earlier and no less important service than this was rendered to Japan and the

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restored Imperial Government by England. The spirit which culminated in the Revolution was smouldering in the country long prior to the advent of foreigners, but it was their advent which gave a strong impetus to it, and caused what were but smouldering ashes to burst into the violent flames which consumed in brief time the usurping Shōgun and his government. In taking the first steps which brought about that advent, the United States therefore rendered a great though indirect service. But at the time at which foreigners first came to Japan, and for several years afterwards, the Shōgun was the only sovereign of the country known to and recognized by them. Just as Kaempfer in the beginning of the seventeenth century wrote of him as "*the* Emperor" in distinction to the "ecclesiastical hereditary Emperor" at Kyōto, who, in his eyes, was no more than a Pope, without a shadow of the temporal powers of the Pope, so did we ourselves in the early days of our intercourse speak of and deal with the Shōgun as "his Majesty." Over and over again his ministers explained to the foreign representatives that there was above him another greater power at Kyōto, whose sanction was required to legalize or give validity to every national act done either by him or his ministers which involved any vital departure from the ancient fundamental laws and customs, but their explanations were received as the mere subterfuges of Asiatic trickery and cunning when it was desired to shelve or postpone dealing with awkward questions. It was the light thrown on Japanese history by the profound scholarship and painstaking research of members of the English consular service in Japan that first made clear to the world the true relative positions of the Mikado and the Shōgun, and the clear perception of Japanese politics which the British minister thereby acquired caused him to recognize the Mikado as the real sovereign, and to deal directly with his newly formed Government as the real authority and representative of the country at a time when all his colleagues without exception obstinately clung to their original belief in the majesty of the Shōgun. His doing so was no mere academic advantage to Japan at the time. Where he took a bold and decided lead others had to follow, however unwillingly, and the general acknowledgment by foreign Powers of the Imperial Government put an end to the recognition of the Shōgun's party as lawful belligerents, and deprived

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them during the last stages of the civil war of all facilities for replenishing their military stores from foreign sources. I think I may safely say that England, by this action, rendered a great political advantage to Japan, the precursor of several which have since followed, some of them more striking from the notoriety with which they were accompanied, but scarcely one that, taking all the circumstances of the time into consideration, was of more immediate benefit. And as England was the first to recognize the legitimacy of the new Government, so she has been in its subsequent history foremost in endeavouring to smooth the path of that Government, which for several years led over very rough places indeed. English residents in Japan have always been more numerous, and English commercial interests greater than those of any other Power; greater until within the last decade, during which German and United States commercial rivalry has first begun to have any real existence, than the aggregate of those of all other Powers. England, therefore, long insisted on the rigid maintenance of the exterritorial rights which secured the protection of her own laws and courts of justice for the persons and properties of her subjects resident in Japan. But the exercise of those rights was, while they lasted, made as light to Japan as it could be. By England alone, of all Western Powers, were courts of law maintained, presided over by trained judicial officials with no less high degree of professional competency than that which is found among the judges of our own colonies, and vested with the very fullest degrees of civil and criminal jurisdiction, so that no crime committed by a British subject in Japan ever failed to be visited with its proper legal penalty, while brutal murders committed on Japanese soil by French, German, and United States citizens went entirely unpunished, nor did any civil claim against a British subject ever fail to be equitably adjudicated. Nor was this the only benefit which the existence of English courts in Japan gave to the people at large. In them they had, long before their students commenced their direct study of Western jurisprudence, the object-lesson before their eyes of the equitable and efficient administration of justice at a time when it could not be said in either aspect to have even a pretence of existence in their own country. By England alone, of all Western Powers, was her chief diplomatic representative invested with full

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authority to make the laws and regulations of Japan binding, where he thought it advisable that they should be, on his own countrymen, an authority which was of the utmost value whenever it became necessary, to take one example only, to adopt preventive measures against the introduction of cholera. And when after long years of earnest preparation Japan had, by the substitution of a code of criminal law, founded on the best models of the West, for one of savage cruelty, by the compilation of a civil code which adequately provides for every incident that can arise in the most highly civilized social system; when she had succeeded in founding a competent and honest judicature, and had reformed her prison system; when by all these great reforms, all of which, it is always to be remembered, were carried out with abundant foreign assistance, she had fitted herself for unqualified autonomy over all within her territories, and shown that Europeans might be safely trusted to her jurisdiction—England, with all her great interests at stake, was the first Power to abrogate exterritorial privileges and thereby to recognize Japan's claim, the first ever yielded in all the history of the world by a Western and Christian to an Oriental and heathen State, to full sovereign rights over all persons within her dominions. Just as other Powers, a generation previously, had perforce to follow England's example in recognizing the Imperial Government, so now, when England, with all her vastly predominating national interests, had once taken the long-dreaded plunge of abolishing exterritoriality, all other Powers were forced—several of them very reluctantly—to follow her example once more. Japan then succeeded in attaining the full development of public right and interest, an ambition which had animated her statesmen from the day on which they had first learned to appreciate the elementary principles of international law and custom. The two last political services rendered by England need only be mentioned here. She refused to take part in the great injustice that followed on the China-Japan war, when Japan's well-earned spoils were ruthlessly taken from her; and she gave the *cachet* to Japan's status as a great Power by concluding with her a treaty of alliance on strictly equal terms, without which it may be safely asserted Japan would not have dared to enter on the present war for the defence of her imperilled national existence.

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This is the record very briefly summarized of what England has contributed to the political progress of Japan. The enforcement of her treaty obligations while she was still in her infancy as an international Power, the early recognition of the Imperial Government, the equitable use of exterritorial jurisdiction, and its abolition, the abstention from share in the spoliation of Port Arthur, and the alliance, are its chief incidents. It is one which now entitles every Englishman to feel proud of the entire history of our political association with her, and which claims from the Japanese people an ungrudging meed of sincere national gratitude that should obliterate every unpleasant memory of humiliation or delayed national ambition in the past.

I now proceed to deal with England's contributions to her material progress. The two are, to a certain extent, closely associated. Politics and political ambition were strong influences in urging the Japanese on their career of material progress, and it is their success in material progress, in the development of the industrial and commercial resources of the Empire, that now enables them to support the great political position which they have won among the Powers of the world.

The earliest Western Powers to enter into treaty relations with Japan were the United States, England, Russia, France, and Holland. Germany did not exist as an empire. Prussia had neither political nor commercial interests in the Far East. Her first treaty with Japan was only made in 1866, and Austria's in 1869. The United States had almost as little material interest in Japan as Prussia, scarcely any beyond that of securing protection and safety for her citizens who found their way there, though her sentimental interest, founded on her just pride in having been the first to break through the barriers of Japan's ancient exclusiveness, was always strong. Holland was, after Japan was opened to the world, of little account either commercially or politically. The views and objects of the remaining three Powers had little in common. Russia had already commenced her career of territorial aggrandizement in the Far East, and had acquired, at the expense of China, both a large territory and a great line of sea-coast with good harbours, thereby giving her a commanding position over the adjacent islands of Japan. The last she was already threatening. She had virtually acquired the Island

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of Saghalin. She maintained great consular and religious establishments, presided over by two of her very ablest officials and missionaries, in the island of Yezo, then inhabited by only a few thousand Japanese, and virtually a *terra incognita* to the rest of the nation, and was slowly but steadily acquiring great local influence. In Nagasaki she founded an exclusive settlement for herself, which, in an unscrupulous and arrogant abuse of her treaty rights of exterritoriality, she treated in almost every sense as if it were an integral part of her own dominions, and she made an attempt to take actual possession of the Island of Tsushima, the out-lying stronghold of the Japanese Empire in the Straits of Korea. This attempt, Japan, powerless in the modern military aspect and torn by internal struggles, was at the time absolutely without means to resist, and had the Russians not been told to quit with little ceremony by a much stronger English fleet than their own, they might have made good the foothold they had already acquired. It is another debt due by Japan to England that Tsushima did not follow in the way of Saghalin. Territorial aggrandizement was then, as now, Russia's ambition, and the mainstay of all her policy in the Far East, and if Japan continued weak, distracted, and helpless, she promised to become a prey as easy as she would have been valuable. France's *rôle* in the Far East was, under the third empire, limited to that of acting as the universal protector of Roman Catholic missionaries. England's, on the other hand, was solely that of the advancement of commerce, to create new markets both of supply and demand. She had no desire to forcibly impose missionaries on Japan, or to make territorial acquisitions at Japan's expense. All she aimed at was the extension and development of her commerce, and that would be attained by teaching Japan the benefits of unrestricted trade, unhampered either by the mistaken policy of exclusiveness, or the ideals of feudalism that despised all trade and everything connected with it, no matter how remotely; by breaking down the *régime* that was implacably hostile to it, and showing that the promotion of trade necessarily involved with it no danger or threat of territorial aggression. All the efforts of Sir Rutherford Alcock, our first minister to Japan, were devoted to impressing these lessons on the *de facto* Government. His task was a hard one. It was carried out in the face of

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constant personal danger from the fanaticism of the adherents to the old traditions, a fanaticism which brought about several cruel murders of his countrymen for whose protection he was responsible, which on two occasions caused desperate attacks to be made by large armed bands on his own legation with the direct object of murdering himself and the whole of his staff, but all his efforts, all his patience, tact, and upright motives, might have been in vain had it not been for two incidents.

The most powerful of the territorial barons were those of Satsuma and Choshiu, the fief of the first lying in the extreme south of the Island of Kiusiu, and that of the second on the north side of the western entrance of the Inland Sea, both far away from the capital of the Shōgun, and therefore beyond the reach of his arm. Both these barons were not only foremost among the most bitter opponents to foreign intercourse, but they were also among the leaders of the national revolutionary movement against the government of the Shōgun that was already in progress. One principle was easily made ancillary to the other. The more that the Shōgun's relations with foreign representatives at the capital could be complicated, the greater would become his difficulties with his own countrymen, and the prospect of his early fall increased in ratio with these difficulties.

On a September afternoon in 1862, a party, consisting of one lady and three English merchants from Yokohama, started for a ride in the direction of Yedo (Tōkyo), on the great high-road of Central Japan, which passes just outside of Yokohama. During their ride they met with the procession, composed of fully eight hundred armed Samurai, of the Chief Dignitary of the Satsuma fief, who had just left the capital on his return journey to his own province, with a mind full of bitterness at slights which he had experienced from the Shōgun. Japanese customs required that the road should be cleared before this procession, and that all travellers should make way for it. The foreigners drew up their horses to one side of the road, not, however, dismounting, as a Japanese would have been required to do, and waited quietly till the procession passed. "Suddenly a man in the centre of the procession threw the upper part of his clothes off his shoulders, leaving himself naked to the waist,

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and drawing his sword, which he swung with both hands, rushed upon the little party of unarmed foreigners;" others of the procession joined him, and though the foreigners took to instant flight, one fell dead on the roadside from terrible wounds. The two other male members of the party were also severely wounded, while the lady, though her hat was cut away by a sword aimed at her head, escaped uninjured. It must be stated that the Japanese, in their ignorance of foreign dress, in the absence of any idea that a woman would be found on horseback (Japanese ladies do not ride even at the present day), had no idea of the lady's sex when she was assaulted in common with her companions.

Reparation was at once demanded by the British Government for this murderous outrage; the usual apology and indemnity and the punishment of the murderers. The indemnity was paid and the apology given, but the Shōgun's Government professed its utter inability to enforce the final condition on the most powerful clan in the Empire, the territories of which were far remote from their own sphere of active influence, equally inaccessible by land or sea. Vigorously pressed for satisfaction by the British minister at the capital, and alarmed for the national safety by the presence of a powerful British fleet in the harbour of Yokohama, they endeavoured to induce the Lord of Satsuma to give up the murderer, but he haughtily replied, "The English insulted me, and for so doing were simply punished by my escort. But if the English desire to get hold of me, let it be decided by an appeal to arms." Great Britain accepted the challenge, and determined to undertake the task herself. A fleet of seven ships of war accordingly sailed for Kagoshima, the capital town of the fief, and on the 13th of August, 1863, the forts by which it was protected were bombarded, the batteries cleared, the magazines and arsenals and a great part of the town destroyed, not without considerable loss on the part of the assailants. In the evening a heavy gale sprung up, and the British ships withdrew, some of the forts still firing as they did so. The object of the expedition was not attained, and to this day the Japanese, notwithstanding the heavy loss they suffered, both in life and in the destruction of property, claim as the result of the action a victory over the British fleet.

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Their own chronicler of the time commented on it as follows:—

"When our troops fired on the English ships, the crews were in such a hurry to escape that one vessel had no time to get in its anchor, so the cable was cut and the anchor left behind. Our troops seized it, and handed it over at the earnest request of the English. When the English get hold of an enemy's anchor, they proclaim the fact everywhere to show how they have gained the victory. The enemy bitterly feels the disgrace, and, when peace is made, often pays large sums of money to recover the article. But as the English got back their anchor without the expenditure of a single cash, they were moved to admiration for Japanese magnanimity."

The second incident to which I have alluded, in which England again came into conflict with Japan, was that of Shimonoseki, in which, however, England did not, as at Kagoshima, stand alone. The Imperial Court of Kyōto, throughout the whole of the years 1862 and 1863, had been strongly urging the duty of expelling foreigners both on the unwilling members of the Shōgun's Government and on the sympathetic feudal barons. Edict followed on edict in rapid succession from the court, all in the same strain, "Expel the despised foreigner, and purify the Land of the Gods," and, finally, one appeared specifically fixing the 25th of June, 1863, as the date on which active measures should be initiated for carrying out the Emperor's wishes. This edict was communicated to all the barons, among others to the Lord of Choshiu. The Straits of Shimonoseki constitute the Western entrance to the Inland Sea, and the Choshiu territories lay along their entire northern shore. The Mikado's edict was cordially received by the baron as a command that was not to be disobeyed, and on the very day named in it an opportunity was given to him of putting it in practice. An American merchant steamer passed through the Straits, and was fired upon by the batteries, but she escaped without injury. A few days later a French gunboat and a Dutch corvette were also fired upon, in both cases suffering some loss. The insult to the American and French flags was promptly revenged by ships of war, which proceeded to the spot and shelled the batteries, and the Dutch corvette at the time gave back as much as she got; but the batteries remained effective, and the

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feudatory determined to use them whenever occasion arose. The passage of the Straits, and consequently of the whole Inland Sea, the high sea-road from Yokohama to Shanghai, thus remained closed to all foreign merchant ships trading between the two places. These ships were at that time almost exclusively English. English interests were therefore most materially affected by the closing of the Straits; but the other Powers had a strong moral interest in insisting on the fulfilment of its treaty obligations by the only responsible Government of Japan that was known to them, one of which secured, though not specifically, the unrestricted passage of the Inland Sea, and, above all, in checking at its very inception a deliberate attempt to put an end to all intercourse between Japan and the outside world.

All the four Powers joined with absolute unanimity in pressing on the recognized Government its duty of at once reducing the truculent baron to submission. But, as in the case of the Satsuma clan a year previously, the Government was powerless. It could only remonstrate, and its remonstrances were treated with absolute contempt, even the agent who carried them to the clan being ruthlessly put to death. It had no fleet and no transports. After more than a year of fruitless diplomatic negotiations, the Powers determined, as England alone had done in the case of Satsuma, to take the matter into their own hands. A combined fleet, in which the British ships enormously preponderated, was sent to the spot, and on the 5th of September, 1864, all the forts were bombarded, and their total demolition completed on the following day by a large force which was landed. Both at Kagoshima and Shimonoseki, the Japanese gunners, though exposed to the concentrated fire of artillery far heavier than their own, and suffering severe losses, stood to their guns manfully, and time after time, when their batteries were cleared, resumed their stations and reopened fire. The landing force at Shimonoseki also met with a severe resistance, and suffered considerable loss; but when the British Marine Infantry, charging at the "double," arrived within fifty yards of the last walls, the enemy, "who hitherto had maintained an extremely hot fire, threw down his arms and ran in all directions." This is the only occasion, until the present war, in which Japanese have been in close conflict on shore with

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Europeans, and in this case all the soldiers were exclusively Samurai, the hereditary fighting men of the nation.

The result of the operations was that the proud baron was at last reduced to unconditional submission, not to his own *de facto* Government, against which he continued hostilities till its fall, four years later, but to foreign Powers. He promised not only that the navigation of the Straits should be henceforth free, but that ships should be allowed to coal and purchase provisions; that the dismantled forts should not be repaired nor rearmed, and that no new ones should be built.

The objects of the Powers were accomplished, and had the matter terminated at this stage, not a vestige of a stain would have been left behind. But, in addition to his other undertakings, the baron also promised that he would pay both a ransom for his town, which had been spared in the bombardment, and the expenses of the expedition. For reasons which it is now difficult to fathom, this obligation was transferred by the diplomatic representatives of the Powers to the Shōgun's Government, which was called upon, when distracted by internal difficulties, with a depleted treasury, to pay an indemnity of three million dollars (£750,000), a very large sum for the Japan of those days. Time was given for the payment, the last instalment, indeed, was only finally paid by the Mikado's Government in 1875, long after that of the Shōgun had ceased to exist, and the Choshiu fief had lost all its independence, and been merged in the Empire; but this indulgence continued until the final payment to be used as a thumb-screw for extorting diplomatic concessions from the Government of Japan, both that of the Shōgun and of the Mikado. The position of the United States Government in the matter was somewhat different to that of other Powers. The indemnity was apportioned equally among the four. The bombardment took place while the American Civil War was still in progress, and the Alabama on the high seas. The United States fleet had therefore other occupations in abundance than that of vindicating the rights of the flag against a small section of an insignificant and little-known people in the Far East, and at Shimonoseki it was only represented by a chartered merchant steamer manned by a score of blue-jackets. America therefore incurred no expense in the expedition, while that incurred by the three other Powers,

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England above all, was considerable, but not even in the case of England amounting to her share in the indemnity. The United States had therefore more reason than the others for the tardy awakening of conscience, which she displayed years later, when she returned her entire share in the indemnity. Insignificant though this step was, none on the part of foreign Powers ever had greater influence in Japan. It conveyed a strong belief in the magnanimity and justness of the United States people, which to this day makes them the most popular and respected of all foreigners, and it laid the foundations of a spirit of deep and lasting gratitude which neither the abolition of exterritoriality nor the alliance has yet won for England.

These two incidents have been described at length, both because their direct results exercised the utmost influence on the subsequent history of Japan, and also because England's share in them has been grossly misrepresented by hasty and ill-informed writers, both English and American. Their immediate results were to convince, firstly, the two most powerful territorial nobles in the Empire, notwithstanding the victory claimed by the first, the two who, next to the Imperial Court, were the most implacable enemies to foreign intercourse, and, secondly, the Japanese people at large, that the project of expelling foreigners by force was hopeless, that the material resources of Western civilization were far above those which Japan possessed herself, and that she must acquire a full knowledge of foreign military methods and weapons to protect, and an equal knowledge of industrial methods to enrich, herself. The lesson was given to her primarily by England, not in the way in which it is desirable that lessons should be given, but in the only one that was then possible, and whatever loss of life or property Japan then suffered was repaid tenfold by the advantage gained by the nation in being effectively, if sharply, taught its own impotency. Nothing but actual experience could have taught that lesson, and the most calm and dispassionate consideration of all its incidents, viewed in the bright light which has been thrown upon them by subsequent investigation, only intensifies the belief that severity at the time was not only politic and necessary, but in the very best interests of Japan herself.

But even now no odium seems to be too great to cast on

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England for what she did. "A terrible excess of bloody vengeance;" "savage vengeance wreaked for fancied injury;" "a horrible act of vengeance, justified neither by international law nor even by the laws of war," are among criticisms that have been passed on the bombardment of Kagoshima by distinguished American writers; while as to the original event which provoked it—the cruel and brutal murder of an unarmed Englishman—it has been freely stated that he deservedly brought his fate upon himself, that he was a man of arrogant and imperious disposition, saturated with the traditional English contempt for Asiatics, and that, disregarding the warnings of the discreet members of his party, he deliberately urged his horse into the procession, an offence which, even if unintentional, would, on the part of a Japanese, have been punished with instant death.

The true facts are as have been stated above. I repeatedly heard them from the lips of one of the wounded survivors, years after they occurred, when all conditions of Japanese life had changed and time had softened the bitterness of their early memory, and also from a Japanese woman, long known to foreigners as the belle of the village near where the event occurred, who witnessed it as a young girl. The whole party had drawn up their horses and were standing quietly at the side of the road while the procession passed. They were there with every treaty right, entitled to the protection of the Japanese Government, but the thought of dismounting never occurred to any of them. It was their not doing so, an apparent slight on the part of the despised foreigners to the greatest of nobles, that provoked the indignation of his followers, or perhaps of himself. Be it as it may, England has no reason to be ashamed either of the original incident or of her ultimate attempt to obtain reparation for it. The criticism to which she has been subjected for the Shimonoseki incident is only less severe because here she acted not alone, but in conjunction with others. But it was her minister, "the apostle of murder and blind force who instigated the act of savage vengeance: who, ever ready to shed blood, collected all the available British naval force and was the leading spirit in organizing the bombardment. No British ship had been injured, and ample revenge had already been taken for the injury inflicted on

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American, Dutch, and French ships." The "apostle of murder" showed himself in every incident of his life one of the most gentle and humane of men, who throughout his whole career over and over again showed the utmost patience and forbearance with Japan, who refrained from retaliation by force even when murderous attacks were made on his own legation, and who in his general action in the Shimonoseki incident proved himself to be possessed of foresight, judgment, and courage, which entitle him to a foremost place among diplomatists who have won for themselves a name in history.

With the termination of the Shimonoseki negotiations, the career of Sir Rutherford Alcock as Minister to Japan also came to an end. He was promoted to Peking, and succeeded in Japan by Sir Harry Parkes, a type of British official which is now almost extinct. A man of indomitable courage, both in the presence of physical danger and in the assumption of moral responsibility; of untiring industry, masterful disposition and strong determination in carrying to a successful end whatever he set his hand to, he represented the most pronounced policy of Lord Palmerston in the advancement and protection of Englishmen and English interests. He was fortunate in arriving in Japan just at the time when the proper relative positions of the Mikado and the Shōgun were at last clearly ascertained, and it was left to him to see that the best interests both of his own country and of Japan would be promoted by the restoration of the Emperor, to procure new letters of credence from his Government, and to obtain both the ratification of the old treaties and his own formal reception as the representative of Great Britain by the legitimate sovereign. But this was not achieved in a day. Japan was in all the turmoil and agony of civil war, and three years passed before the final triumph of the Imperialist cause. The watchword, the rallying-cry of the principal adherents of that cause had been, as before stated, the expulsion of the foreigner, the closing of the ports that had been opened to foreign trade by the Shōgun, who had weakly and treacherously yielded to foreign threats. This spirit of the conquering party had to be overcome. The lessons of Kagoshima and Shimonoseki had to be brought home, and this was done by the persistent efforts of the English minister. He was aided, it must be admitted, by the death of

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the Emperor Komei, whose hatred of foreigners, who were known only to him by name, was uncompromising and unconquerable, and the succession to the Imperial throne of a boy with an unformed and unbiassed mind. When that boy's Government was firmly established in power, then the pretext under which its adherents had fought was openly thrown aside, and the new Government resolved "that the narrow-minded ideas which had hitherto prevailed should be got rid of, that Japanese deficiencies should be supplied in what foreigners are superior, that wisdom should be sought for in all quarters of the world." The members of the Government were, however, but as children suddenly cast upon the world. They had a vague knowledge of their requirements, but were altogether ignorant of how to satisfy them, and as it was by the British minister that they had been mainly led to the adoption of their new policy, so it was to him that they turned for advice and guidance as to the fulfilment of that policy. Both were freely and honestly, if sometimes rather roughly, given, and throughout the succeeding decade, so long as Sir Harry Parkes remained in Japan, there was scarcely one detail in Japanese reform in which he had not a leading share. This is the second period in Japan's modern history during which English influence was at its zenith. It lasted from 1871, the year in which feudalism was abolished, until 1882, when Sir Harry Parkes left the country for ever.

In the sixth century of the Christian era, Japan became convinced that Chinese civilization was superior to her own, and once convinced, she showed no half-heartedness in adopting all its elements. Literature, medical, military, and political systems, calendar, laws, even art, were all appropriated *en bloc* from China, and so thoroughly assimilated that they became the sole foundations of her whole social system for over 1300 years. The main influence which produced this result was religion. Japan was converted to Buddhism by Chinese missionaries, after which, Professor Chamberlain says, "all Chinese institutions came in with a rush." History repeated itself when she became convinced that the material advantages of Western were far superior to those of Chinese civilization. The conversion in this case, when she first turned to Christian countries for her teaching, was produced not by religion, but, as has been

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shown, by the display of military strength and efficiency given at Kagoshima and Shimonoseki, supplemented by the persistent and masterful teaching of an able and determined English official. But once converted anew, the adoption of Western was just as wholesale as had been that of Chinese civilization. Military, naval, medical, and engineering science; law, education, sociology; literature to a large, art to some extent;—all were taken from the West. The only exception was religion. To Christianity the modern leaders of Japan have remained firmly opposed, and all the converts of all sects of Christianity, however numerous, are but a tiny drop in the great ocean of the general population. The preponderating political and commercial influence of Great Britain at the time, backed by the minister's own commanding and irresistible personality, might have been easily exerted so as to make Great Britain the sole reformer of Japan, as China had previously been. But it was not his policy to obtain such a monopoly for his own country. English policy, as represented by him, was mainly commercial, to find a growing market for her manufactures, and the market in Japan would—as has since proved to be the case, far beyond the wildest dreams of the future in those days—increase with Japan's advance in material welfare. Anything which contributed to that advance was warmly urged on the Japanese by him, but as to the agents by whom it was effected, while they were working honestly and efficiently, he made no attempt to restrict the choice of the Japanese to his own countrymen. But the English servants of the Japanese Government were always larger in number than those of any other nation, and they have left their mark on every element of Japanese progress, with the sole exception of that of military affairs. For the present efficiency of her magnificent army, the cheapest as it is one of the best in the world, costing in a decade scarcely more than we expend in a single year upon our own, Japan is indebted entirely to France and Germany. England never took even the smallest share in its creation.

Space will not permit of more than the briefest summary of the services rendered during thirty years by English experts who have resided in Japan, and conscientiously and ably served its Government and people. I do not propose now to refer to the navy, further than to state that for the entire training of its

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personnel, both officers and men, for the construction of its most formidable ships—in fine, for the ambition which led Japan to become a great naval Power, she owes everything to the teaching of English officers, to the science of English builders, and to the example of England itself. I have already told its story in a review[1] which is accessible to you all. It was to Germany that Japan looked for teachers in medical science. But she was started on her way, long before a German physician had set foot in the country, by two subjects of Great Britain—the first the medical officer of the British Legation, and the second a naval officer, the services of both of whom were gratuitously given by Sir Harry Parkes. The first accompanied the Imperial Army in its last operations against the adherents of the Shōgun, and not only tended the wounded in the field, but taught the victors to show mercy to fallen foes. Until then it had never been the custom of Japanese armies to make prisoners, and the vanquished either committed suicide or were ruthlessly slaughtered. It is only in the present war that the trees sprung from the seed originally sown thirty-five years ago by a tender-hearted Irishman are for the first time bearing a full crop of fruit; and when we now read of the humane and generous treatment of Russian prisoners, we may feel some pride that the first lessons in this form of humanity were given to Japan by a British subject. To him also belongs the credit of founding and organizing the first public hospital in which the treatment of patients and the teaching of students were conducted on Western principles, and it was the splendid results of his practice and teaching that first caused the abandonment of the Chinese for the Western system of medicine. The second introduced vaccination and lock-hospitals, the systems of both of which are now carried to so high a degree of efficiency that the people are almost exempt from two of the most terrible scourges of mankind, from which they formerly suffered to a degree which is hardly credible to the present generation.

To the French and German jurists, Japan owes the codes of civil and criminal law, which were one of the ostensible foundations of her claim to judicial autonomy, the creation of an independent judicature and its demarcation from executive

[1] *Nineteenth Century*, August, 1904.

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authorities. It was a French jurist who procured the abolition of torture, which, even after the Revolution, was an incident in almost every criminal trial. From America, Japan adopted her educational system, which now provides an elementary school in every village in the Empire, and high and technical schools in all the large towns. Her national University perhaps owes most of its success to German and United States teachers, but in all the faculties they have always had brilliant English colleagues, and in the faculty of engineering and its allied branches of chemistry, physics, geology, and architecture, all the original teachers, both practical and theoretical, were exclusively English. Italian artillerists founded the first military arsenal. Here the list of services rendered to Japan by Continental and American foreigners may be said to end. Let us now see what are those which have been exclusively rendered to her by Englishmen.

My own residence in Japan commenced almost simultaneously with the final establishment of the Government of the Mikado in power, and during more than thirty subsequent years it was my privilege to witness the inception and progress of every reform that was accomplished. The earliest that my memory can recall was that of the prison system. Prior to the Revolution, all Japanese prisons were infernos of mediæval horror. The cells were either open cages, in which the insufficiently clothed inmates were exposed to all the inclemency of a very varying climate, crowded together so as to be half-stifled in the heat of summer, chilled to the bone in the bitter cold of winter; or dark dungeons, so cramped in space that the unfortunate occupant had to remain continuously huddled up, knees to chin. Sanitary arrangements were entirely wanting; the officials were promoted prisoners, often themselves the worst of criminals, who were vested with full punitive powers, including that of torture, which they used for purposes of extortion; no provision was made for the sick. The mortality among the prisoners was naturally terrible, and the few who survived until their discharge, left equally ruined in health and character. As the credit of the abolition of torture is justly given to the French, so that of a reformed prison administration must be given to the English. One of the first occasions on which it was my duty to attend the British minister as a very young member of his staff on a

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formal occasion, was when he visited the largest prison in Tōkyo, and saw for the first time how the prisoners were treated; and I can well remember the deep impression created on him, familiar though he was with the horrors of Chinese prisons, by what he saw there, of which the particulars I have just given can convey but a very faint idea to your minds. After his visit he at once urged a thorough reform on the Government, pointing out to them that they had at their very doors models of the highest type of efficiency, and at his suggestion a commission was sent, under the guidance of an English consular official, to visit and report on the prisons of Singapore and Hong Kong. Reform soon followed their return, and the pupils have since so much improved that they might now well reverse their relations with their original teachers. Japanese convict depôts and penitentiaries are, when due consideration is given to all the conditions of ordinary Japanese life, on a far higher plane of social civilization than those in England. The duty of adequately punishing the criminal is not lost sight of, but that of reforming him is considered the more paramount, and every means is taken to spare his degradation, during the term of his sentence, either by work or association, to render him, when his release comes, fitted to earn an honest livelihood and to enable him to start on a new career. I have seen the interior of Japanese prisons in every part of the Empire, from the great convict depôts in the northern districts of the Hokkaido to the recently established prisons in the extreme south of Formosa, the latter occupied almost exclusively by Chinese prisoners. In all, the conditions were marked by similar degrees of humanity and efficiency. I have spoken to convicts in them all, in every grade of life, and among all I found that the prevailing spirit was one of hope and not despair for the future. The penal labour of all was such as his former life best fitted him to perform, whether it was professional or clerical work, handicraft or mere manual labour, and the expiration of his sentence should leave the convict in no sense less fitted for his original occupation, as far as technical skill is concerned, than he was at its beginning. Jabez Balfour would not in Japan, as he is in Parkhurst, be degraded by tailoring or hoeing turnips, nor would laundry-work there be considered a fitting occupation for solicitors or bank-clerks, heavily enough punished already for

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their transgressions, however serious, without the humiliating memory that they are daily becoming more and more deteriorated and unfitted to face the future.

The next stop in progress was the introduction of railways, this again on the advice of the English minister, who constantly urged that good transport facilities were essentials to internal commercial development. In Japan it cost more to carry a bale of goods a hundred miles into the country from the port at which it was landed, than to send it, when ocean freight was far higher than at the present day, from Europe to Japan. It was not only by English engineers and with English capital that the first railways were built, but every practical detail of railway construction, organization, and management was taught by experts, who, from the chief engineer of the whole line down to the drivers, stokers, and navvies, were exclusively English. The Japanese were apt pupils. They can now dispense with foreign assistance, both in the construction and maintenance of their railways, but that they can do so is entirely owing to the practical teaching which they originally received from the English engineers and mechanics engaged on their early lines, and the theoretical teaching of English professors in the engineering faculty of their University. And what applies to the railways applies also to all other branches of engineering science. It was by English engineers that the coasts were lighted and mines first worked under the most advanced principles of scientific efficiency; that telegraphs were laid both by land and sea; that a national mint was established; that extensive waterworks were constructed, giving for the first time to great towns a supply of pure water, an effective defence against cholera, formerly only a less national scourge than small-pox or syphilis; that the shipbuilding yards, foundries, and factories, the outputs of which now compete on equal terms with those of England, were first established. The first naval dockyard was built by the French, and some light railways in the extreme north were constructed by United States engineers. With those two exceptions everything that Japan has, either in the visible material results of engineering science or in the professional skill of her own sons, she owes entirely to Englishmen. And to quote Professor Chamberlain once more: "They were not mere supervisors. It was a case of off coats, of actual

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manual work, of example as well as precept. Technical men had to show how technical things should be done" to pupils who were ignorant of the very ABC of each department. And not only were the pupils taught their professions, but each department was organized from its very foundations and handed over, when the work of the foreign teacher was done, in such a condition of running efficiency, that its subsequent administration and development were all plain sailing.

Both the press and banking system are now prominent factors in Japanese life, and it was by Englishmen again that the foundations of both were laid. It is English example which encouraged Japan to create her present fine mercantile marine, and started her on that career of commercial and industrial progress which now gives her an annual foreign trade of nearly sixty millions sterling, enables her to export over nine millions' worth of manufactures, and gives her reasonable hope of attaining the commercial hegemony of the East ere another generation has passed. Very early in her career of modern progress, it became her ambition to be in the Far East what England is in the West as a naval and commercial power. For hundreds of years she had looked upon trade as the most degrading occupation that could be carried on by persons within the pale of social humanity. British merchants in Japan, openly honoured by their own Government, and associating as equals with their own officials and military and naval authorities, always maintaining a high standard of upright conduct, and incorruptibly honest in every commercial transaction, clean and law-abiding in all the incidents of their daily lives, enterprising and intelligent in seizing every available avenue of trade, taught them that trade might not deserve the contempt with which they had hitherto viewed it, and that a trader might be a worthy member of society. The lesson has not been perfect in one respect. Her traders as a class have not yet acquired the principles of commercial honesty. Many among them are still as unscrupulous in the evasion of obligations, as impossible of reliance in maintaining a level standard of quality in their own productions, as they were in the dark days of their social degradation, and this stain remains one serious blot on Japan's general advance as a civilized and enlightened Power.

As Englishmen stand pre-eminent in the contributions which

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they have made to Japan's political and material progress, so do they also in the results which they have given to the world of historical and philological studies. All the exact knowledge which we now possess of the philosophy, history, religions, geography, art, and language of Japan is due, it may be said without exaggeration, to the labours of English savants. In their command of the language, Englishmen stand far above all other nationalities, and have only been approached by one rival, a venerable American missionary. Germany has produced two great writers on Japan—Siebold and Rein; Holland, one—Kaempfer; but these are the only writers of the very foremost rank that Continental Europe has produced, and none of the three can bear comparison with Satow, Aston, Mitford, Chamberlain, and Brinkley, all of whom possess a practical and scientific knowledge of the language which rivals that of the most erudite of the Japanese themselves, whose works, in their several spheres, are now the standard authorities, to which we owe all the light that has been thrown on Japan.

Finally, a tribute must be paid to what Englishmen have done in eliminating from the social system of Japan the last taint of slavery which disfigured it. Prostitution in Japan is and always has been under State control. It is not within the scope of this article to discuss the sociological merits of this system. All that need be said is that, though shortly after the Revolution legal servitude was abolished, and all the contracts annulled by which thousands of women were held in bondage in the licensed brothels all over the country, the owners continued to evade the law by keeping their unfortunate victims under a heavy load of debt, for which the relatives were responsible. In doing so, they had the assistance of the courts of law and the police. Faithful to its best traditions, the Salvation Army, on the institution less than ten years ago of its campaign in Japan, took up the cause of these women. They not only fought it in the courts of law, but even the female officers, undeterred by the threats and actual assaults of paid bullies, as brutal as the worst of the Montmartre, forced their way into the brothels and proclaimed to the timid, broken-spirited inmates that, if they chose to abandon their lives of shame, they would be protected and cared for, and their relatives relieved of the responsibility of their debts. The battle was a hard one, as severe as any which the

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Salvation Army had to face in its early days in England, but victory was on the side of the fearless and determined champions of liberty and morality, and emancipation from one of the most hideous forms of slavery became for the first time a reality instead of a legal figment. Of all the results of the opening of Japan to foreign influences, this is not the one of which Englishmen have reason to be the least proud.

Books on Japan form a considerable library in themselves, and still continue to flow in a steady stream from the press. A fleeting visit of a few months' duration, a hasty superficial investigation of the most apparent characteristics and incidents, unaided by even an elementary knowledge of the language or literature, are considered sufficient equipment to justify *ex cathedra* criticisms and what purport to be accurate descriptions and historical narrative. The results are in many cases deplorable, but not even in those books which rise above the ordinary levels of superficiality and inaccuracy can I recollect a single one, written by an Englishman, in which a scintilla of the credit that is justly due is given to his own countrymen for what they have done for Japan, and there are very few indeed in which even the name of an Englishman is mentioned as a founder and maker of modern Japan. That Japan reformed herself; that her territorial magnates voluntarily and of their own free will made the great surrender of their fiefs, which involved in it the abolition of the rigid system of feudalism under which all possible progress had been stifled; that her own modern statesmen saw of themselves the immense material superiority of Western civilization to their own, and converted their people to the same view; that all she has since achieved in material progress is owing entirely, not only to the industry, ingenuity, and perseverance, but even to the initiation of her own sons, are the invariable texts of the English journalist and literary globe-trotter; and to neither does it ever seem to occur, that common honesty and historical accuracy apart, some glory might be reflected on themselves by the record of what their countrymen have done, or that the English public would read the wondrous story of Japanese progress with none the less pleasure did they know how great and unselfish a part British subjects have silently played in it. And if the names of those who did so have scarcely been even known in England, it must also be

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confessed that they and all they did are now completely forgotten by the Japanese themselves. The gratitude which the Japanese bear to the people of the United States has been already referred to. Very recently high tributes have been paid by them to the memories of Perry, who signed the first treaty, and of Harris, the first United States minister. Alcock and Parkes are remembered, if at all, the one only in connection with the suffering of Kagoshima and Shimonoseki; the other, the greatest benefactor to, just as he was the greatest foreigner who has ever been in, Japan, only as a hard and tyrannical schoolmaster. The names of Willis, the founder of medicine, and of Newton, who introduced vaccination and lock-hospitals, both apostles of humanity in its highest forms; of Morel, Brunton, Gilbert, and Palmer, the railway, lighthouse, telegraph, and waterworks engineers; of Kinder, the founder of the Mint; of Black and Grigor, who founded the press and banking systems, are all almost utterly unknown to Japanese of the present generation. I have only mentioned the names of those who are no more. Several of them are buried in Japan, but in not one instance has even a stone been erected upon their last resting-place by the people whom they served so well. It may, however, be true, as the Japanese firmly believe, that the souls of the dead return to earth; that death entails no final parting from the scenes and associates of the labours of life, and that immortality is the prerogative of all. If that be so, and the souls of the Englishmen who gave the best years of their earthly careers to the service of Japan are now, from a little way above our heads, contemplating the results of their labours, they have a reward far higher than any that can be conferred by monuments of brass or stone, in the marvellous efficiency of their former pupils in every line of life; in seeing that those very pupils, in little more than the lifetime of one generation, have transformed a country, apparently hopelessly disunited and disorganized, bankrupt in its finances, impotent even for national defence, enslaved in the cruel bondage of an iron feudalism, into a great military, commercial, and constitutional power, so well and economically governed that there is scarcely one branch in the Imperial administration in which some lessons might not now be profitably taken by the country which gave them their first teachers.

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The CHAIRMAN: We have many present to-night who know Japan very well, and I hope we shall have some remarks from them.

Mr. F. G. SALE, M.J.S.: I would like to protest against the scathing criticism on Japanese merchants. Twenty years ago it would have been justified; but not now. I know this because I have been engaged in business with Japan for that number of years, and a very marked improvement has taken place. I therefore think the criticism should be withdrawn.

Mr. N. OKOSHI, M.J.S.: I should like to make some remarks, if you will allow me. Forty years ago Japan was closed to the outside world, and any Japanese who left the country was punished on his return, if he ever came back. Then, through the influence of the United States, it was opened for trade. Those countries who asked us to open our doors are now shutting their own against us; for instance, Australia and Canada are making laws to exclude us. It should be the business of England to try and keep their doors open to us. I should like to ask Professor Longford if we should have averted war with Russia had we not had an alliance with England, and what makes him think so? Another matter: he alluded to those English people who have experimented in our country, and who have taught many lessons to the Japanese. I think the English did much for themselves, but not much for Japan.

I must thank Mr. Longford for the interesting lecture which he has given us, and I hope he will favour the Society very often with the knowledge of things Japanese which we ourselves are not quite familiar with.

Mr. WILSON CREWDSON (*Hon. Sec. J.S.*): I have listened with the greatest possible interest to the paper, especially as in Professor Longford we have a gentleman who has been taking an active part in the stirring events in Japan for the last thirty years. I was much impressed by his saying that the English policy, as represented by Sir Harry Parkes, was mainly commercial, and I am sure it was so. But I do not see myself that there is any very great debt of gratitude due to one carrying out an ordinary business transaction. A thing that has always impressed me is the question of the Japanese coinage. The ratio between silver and gold was different in Japan to what it was in Europe, and the Japanese did their best to deal with it, but the English insisted on the old ratio, and exported gold in great quantities, and I cannot find that the officials of that time took any prominent part in preventing what was not really a fair way of dealing with a nation with whom we had just entered into trade relations.

I would also refer to the extreme injustice of the consular jurisdiction. It must have been most galling to Japan. There were fifteen consuls,

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and these consuls were not always citizens of the nations they represented. There were sometimes honorary consuls; they acted as judges, and there was no appeal from their judgments. Again, criminals were not subject to Japanese law if they were foreigners. All sorts of abuses were created by this system. Did England take the part she should have done in stopping these evils? For instance, police control, and an independent post-office. England was the last of the Powers to consent to their abolition. Again, the United States was the first to give freedom to the coast-trade and supervision of the Customs to Japan. In 1882, all the Powers agreed that the consular jurisdiction should be abolished, and that all commercial advantages should be thrown open to the world. Sir Harry Parkes alone opposed it, and it was not until 1894 that it was agreed to. It was very galling that England should have taken up the position she did.

Mr. R. C. Nesbitt, M.J.S.: I think Mr. Okoshi has touched on a very weak spot when he says that Canada and Australia do not open their doors to his countrymen, and I hope this anomaly will soon cease to exist. In Australia, in 1892, the Japanese officers of the fleet were received everywhere on an equality just as our own sailors were. One other point on which the lecturer and the gentleman who has had twenty years' experience of commercial intercourse do not agree. The Japanese commercial morality was very doubtful up to a few years ago, but now it is approaching to our own standard. That is certainly a lesson which the Japanese have learnt from the Europeans. A third point is the credit which Professor Longford gives to England in the Chino-Russian war, in that she did not associate herself with France and Germany to take the spoils of war from Japan. She should have done more than this. It was by her vacillating conduct that Japan ever lost Port Arthur. Russia persuaded France and Germany to bring pressure to give up an arrangement made in Japan, on the ground that occupation of Port Arthur by a foreign Power was a standing menace to the integrity to the Chinese Empire.

Mr. Kadono (*Member of Council, J.S.*): We have listened to a very interesting lecture by Mr. Longford, whose knowledge of Japan is a great deal more than my own. The professor is not old, but I am extremely young; I have grown with modern Japan. I do not know what the circumstances were at the time, but as to consular jurisdiction, if I had lived in Japan as an Englishman, I do not know whether I should have consented to its abolition; thirty years ago I should have objected, and fifteen years ago there were a great many reasons for its retention. As it is now, perhaps the question is not so important. I beg to propose a very hearty Vote of Thanks to the lecturer for his address.

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Mr. W. HARDING SMITH (*Member of Council, J.S.*) seconded the Vote of Thanks.

The CHAIRMAN: In putting the Vote of Thanks we will signify it in the usual manner. If the lecturer has any reply to make, he will kindly do so now.

Professor LONGFORD: I have already occupied enough of your time this evening, and I shall therefore now say little more than that I thank you very sincerely for the patience with which you have listened to what, I fear, must have been a very dull paper. I shall only notice two or three remarks which have been made by the several speakers. Mr. Sale says he has had twenty years' experience of business in Japan, and he takes exception to my description of the Japanese trader as a class. There are exceptions, of course, many exceptions, and their number is increasing every day, with the advent into trade of Japanese of gentle birth and the higher social position which the commercial classes of Japan are gradually winning; but my description as a whole is a true one, even at the present day. Mr. Sale has had twenty years' dealing with Japanese traders. I have had more than thirty years' experience of listening to the complaints of British merchants trading with them. Their cry, founded on bitter experience, was always the same. There was no trusting an average Japanese trader either as a buyer or a seller. A year or so ago, a special meeting of the London Chamber of Commerce was held to welcome to London Baron Shibusawa, the greatest of all Japanese merchants, and all the British representatives of trade who spoke at that meeting—at which, if I am not wrong, Mr. Sale himself was also present—were as unanimous as they were outspoken in their denunciations of the commercial dishonesty of the Japanese traders as a class. Indeed, very much stronger things were then said in the presence of Baron Shibusawa than anything that I have said this evening. Mr. Crewdson thinks that consular jurisdiction was unjust. Mr. Kadono, on the other hand, thinks it was necessary thirty and even fifteen years ago. I should have liked Mr. Crewdson to have lived in Japan thirty years ago and known what Japanese laws were, with their provisions for torture, their penalty of death for the most insignificant offences, their class distinctions, the utter absence of an honest, competent, or independent judicature, characteristics which were only very incompletely remedied even fifteen years ago. Mr. Crewdson would then have been very glad of the protection of his own laws, administered by his own officials, which would have been secured to him by consular jurisdiction. Sir Harry Parkes was the only one of the Foreign Diplomatic Representatives to protest against its premature abolition, but he was the only one who thoroughly understood the situation, and who knew that the Japanese, when they first claimed it, were quite unfit, from the European point of view, to be trusted with

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complete jurisdiction over the lives, liberties, and property of foreigners. Ten years later, when they had shown that they were fit, when they had reformed their laws, judicature, and prisons, England was the first country to recognize the fact; and so far from being blamed for not having taken the step earlier, I think she showed equal justice and liberality in taking it at a time when it was still considered one of extreme risk.

As for the export of gold in the very early days of our intercourse with Japan, it was not to our credit, but it was not within human nature to resist the temptation which the peculiar financial conditions of the country offered to the first foreigners who landed in it. The Government had arbitrarily fixed the ratios of gold and silver as one to three. In every other part of the world, including China, only a few hundred miles distant from the shores of Japan, and possessing an abundant supply of silver, the ratios were as one to fifteen. Exporting gold from Japan in exchange for imported silver was therefore a transaction the profits of which exceeded the dreams of avarice; but though it perhaps violated the principles of a strict degree of theoretical morality, which it would be hopeless to find practised in this world, it was in every sense perfectly legal. As soon as the Japanese Government took measures to fix a proper ratio between the two metals, the export was stopped, and every possible assistance was given by the British officials in Japan at the time in enforcing the necessary measures on their own countrymen.

As to the Port Arthur incident, we did all that could have been equitably expected from us; and Japan asked nothing more.

The proceedings then terminated.

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THE

EIGHTY-FIRST ORDINARY MEETING,

(SIXTH OF THE FOURTEENTH SESSION,)

APRIL 12TH, 1905.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, London.*]

Mr. CHARLES HOLME, F.L.S., *Chairman of Council, J.S.*, took the Chair at 8.30 P.M., when a Paper on "ENGLAND'S APPRECIATION OF JAPANESE ART" was read by Mr. B. MARCUS HUISH, *Hon. Librarian and Curator.*

The CHAIRMAN on opening the proceedings said: Our lecturer this evening is well known to you all as one of the Council of this Society, and as a member ever since the foundation of the Society. As a writer on Japanese subjects his delightful book, "Japan and its Art," is known to you all, as are his numerous contributions and papers on Japanese matters. No one can talk on this particular subject better than Mr. Huish, and I am quite sure your kind attention will be given to him.

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ENGLAND'S APPRECIATION OF JAPANESE ART.

By MARCUS B. HUISH, LL.B.,
Hon. Curator and Librarian J.S.

THOSE of you who take a sufficient interest in the proceedings of this Society to keep before them the official programme and forecast of our session's work, may have noticed that the title I originally planned for the paper I am privileged to read to-night was, "Is Interest on Japanese Art on the Wane in Europe and America?" And they will have further noted that this has now been narrowed down to the Appreciation of this Country for Japanese Art.

My apology for this restriction is not that the larger subject was not more interesting: it would have been: but, upon consideration, I came to the conclusion that I hardly felt myself competent to speak for other countries, for the information I could have given, and the estimates I could have laid before you, would have only represented individual opinions, which, although of great weight with myself, might not have been equally so with the audience I address.

But although I have thus narrowed my subject, I must still, in dealing with this country, speak of, and make comparison with others, and therefore I shall have, to a lesser degree, to travel outside the limits within which I have now encompassed it.

The curtailment will, however, have the merit of making my paper a shorter one and serving the purpose for which it was written, namely, to arouse discussion upon a matter which, I believe, needs serious attention at the hands of those who desire to see this country taking a real and educated interest in the Art of our Allies.

The interest of Englishmen to-day in the Art of Japan presents a curious anomaly. This anomaly cannot be better

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evidenced than in the history of this Society, for whilst our numbers have gone on increasing year by year, in a manner which calls forth the astonishment, I might almost say the envy, of other learned bodies, our interest in Japanese art, by which I mean a thorough, as opposed to a perfunctory, interest, has not only not increased, but, so far as I can see, has been gradually on the wane. This startling statement is my text to-night, and I will now, with your permission, proceed to do my best to prove it, and to show how it has come about.

Appreciation of any particular form of art must depend on the artistic taste of the community affected by it, and upon the two being in sympathy. Especially is this the case with an art that differs from the canons usually accepted by a community, and that, perhaps, in many respects runs directly counter to them.

Further, however fitted a nation may be to appreciate an art, it cannot do so without ample opportunities being afforded it for a sufficient survey of the art, a survey ample for study and comparison. As St. Paul says, "How shall they believe in what they have not heard, and how shall they hear without a teacher;" and therefore, in the case (as here) of an art intruding itself as a revelation, the presentment of that art must be accompanied by education, which can only permeate the masses through the presentation to them of properly selected specimens of that art, by educational text-books, and (for the few) by intercourse between those possessing objects with whose merits they are well versed and imbued with a desire to impart their knowledge to others.

Therefore, in any attempt to gauge the appreciation of this country for the Art of Japan, we must note—

First, what opportunities it has had to appreciate the art—

(*a*) By personal acquaintance with the country itself and its arts and crafts.

(*b*) By the influx to this country and the display of worthy specimens of that art, either in our museums or in exhibitions, or through opportunities of acquisition in our sale-rooms or through the purveyors of such things.

(*c*) By the presence of collectors and *dilettanti* able and ready to impart knowledge on the subject.

(*d*) By the dissemination of educational literature in the English language.

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And (these being present) then, secondly, the capacity of the English to appreciate the art.

Taking these in turn, I will first show what opportunities this country has had of appreciating the art of Japan.

Our acquaintance with Japan, up to a certain date, need not be repeated here, our worthy honorary secretary, Mr. Wilson Crewdson, having most succinctly laid before us, in a paper included in the last volume of our *Transactions*, its relations, not only with this country, but with the rest of the world.

For my purpose it will suffice if I enumerate the literature concerning this intercourse, which, up to a certain date, has been of infinitesimal amount.

Until quite a late period, in fact, up to within half a century ago, England depended for this upon translations of the expeditions of foreigners, for the very good reason that they alone had any access to the country.

I will not trouble you with those prior to the last century, but I should like to mention one or two which were published some eighty years ago, the first being, "The Illustration of the Country of Japan, or Private Memoirs and Anecdotes of the Reigning Dynasty of the Djogouns or Sovereigns of Japan." This, published in 1822, was a translation of the Dutch edition of Titsingh, and it is principally interesting from its being a really very good specimen of English colour-printing of the time, and for the appeal which the translator (himself a foreigner) made to the English people. In his preface he says—

"We see by the example of the author how much may be effected in the way of communicating to the Japanese a taste for the art of Europe. A beginning having been made to open their eyes to the benefit likely to accrue to themselves, it seems to me to be a point worthy of serious consideration whether British enterprise might not avail itself of this favourable disposition for attempting, with some chance of success, to establish a connection with this populous insular empire. I am well aware that it would have no trifling difficulties to encounter, not only in the prejudices of the Japanese, but probably also of the Dutch. Be this as it may, I have too high an opinion of British spirit, industry, and perseverance not to be convinced that they would find means to surmount even still more powerful impediments."

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Mr. Phené Spiers has also brought to my notice a most interesting little rarity of which I have never seen a copy. It is a digest of the work just referred to, and is entitled, "Japan in Miniature."

But, curiously enough, neither of the authors of these books appears to have been affected by the art of the country which he visited. Ceremonies, religious and civil, marriage and funerary, call for lengthy comment, but hardly a word appears concerning its art — nothing certainly to lead any one to believe that there existed an art worthy of research and study.

Stray specimens of the art of Japan, it is true, had ere this found their way into the houses of the higher classes in England. The Hamilton collection, for instance, contained many rare and early specimens of chests and cabinets. Lacquer panels also were to be seen, which had been introduced into the fine pieces of furniture which had their origin for the most part in France in the eighteenth century. They were admired and valued, but being largely outnumbered by pieces of similar design but inferior workmanship, which had their origin in China, they were classified as such, even by those who should have known better. Most, if not all, of these pieces came to this country by way of Holland.

But, with these few exceptions, nothing of Japanese art came here until less than half a century ago, nor was it possible until the opening up of Japan in the fifties.

Then it was that Great Britain had its opportunities. The first was in 1854, when a squadron under Sir James Stirling spent a year in Japanese waters in company with the American Perry Expedition, the results of which were not, however, communicated to the public until 1856, through the medium of a naval officer. It was hardly to be expected that naval officers would come across, in their hasty visits ashore, or, even if they did, would be able to appreciate, the art treasures of the country; but in fairness to the author we may say that he gives recognition to them, although at the same time he laments the exorbitant prices asked for them. It is probable that the squadron, when it returned in 1856, brought home but little that could adequately represent the art of the country.

The next occasion was in 1857, when, as you are aware, a mission was sent under Lord Elgin to China and Japan. This

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extended over two years. It was not long before literature concerning it was offered to the British public. The Earl of Elgin had attached to him as secretary, Mr. Laurence Oliphant, a name that insured literary results of a high character. His narratives saw the light in 1859 in two volumes, but here again no information came to us concerning art.

It was not, in fact, until the next diplomatic mission went out to Japan that any fruits came to hand. Fortunately, in that sent out in 1859, of which Sir Rutherford Alcock was the head, the selection fell to a man endowed with discernment and taste, and it was to him that the English people owed its first opportunity of seeing undoubted Japanese art products.

The Great Exhibition of 1862 was then on the tapis. It was to follow one that had been a great success, and it was to be a mirror of the world's art. To this World's Fair, then, Sir Rutherford sent over a sufficiency of articles to furnish a Japan Court. The acquisition of these articles extended over a three years' residence in Japan, and he gave some description as to how he collected them in his work, "The Capital of the Tycoon," published in 1863.

So varied were the curios encountered by him, and so unlike anything that he had seen before, that he said if he commenced to describe them he should not know where to stop. A broad sheet of the *Times* would not suffice, and, besides, it would be a sort of Tantalus cup, for the desire to possess them would haunt his readers like a dream of unattainable bliss.

Here is an epitome of his description :—

"In the lower floor are merely such things as you would see everywhere—lacquer trays, oblong, round, and oval, but miracles of cheapness, five, ten, and fifteen shillings each, of good lacquer, and many of beautiful design. But some there are of inlaid wood and lacquer combined, at very different prices. There are boxes with every kind of gold tracery and design, which here are used for carrying letters, but would do admirably for gloves. Some are with birds and trees in raised gold-relief, as rich as well can be, and of all prices from five shillings to as many guineas.

"But upstairs is the finer collection—cabinets of many woods, inlaid; and lacquer luncheon cabinets of such infinite ingenuity, variety, and perfection of form, that they could not fail

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to win a lady's heart if offered as work-boxes. Here is one of a square form, standing some eighteen inches high, with a globe top, in imitation of a huge egg, or crackled china, which opens out into a multiplicity of drawers and trays and boxes, of finished workmanship, embossed in gold and silver. Then, again, there have been sent lately, by Daimios of the less-wealthy classes, fine specimens of lacquer—heirlooms, it is said, which, nevertheless, they are willing to part with, for a consideration. Whether this be true or not, large and beautiful specimens are often left to be sold with the Japanese dealers at a fixed price, and you must either give it or go without the articles. There can be no established price for such things, because they are not in common demand, nor can they be multiplied."

The catalogue of the contents of the Japanese Court at the 1862 Exhibition is a sufficiently long one, showing that the specimens of lacquer extended to over two hundred pieces, and that china and porcelain, bronzes, silks, wall-papers, etc., were shown in equally large numbers. As to their quality, we have, of course, no index, but we find that the bronzes called for comment in Waring's "Masterpieces of Industrial Art." and that the court itself was the subject of an article by Mr. W. Burges, the well-known architect, in the *Gentleman's Magazine.*

How did these novelties strike the multitudes who thronged the Great Exhibition? Did they cause a sensation among art craftsmen of every kind? Did the Government, then spending money very freely upon the acquisition of objects wherewith to furnish the South Kensington Museum, avail itself of the opportunity to instruct our representative at the Court of the Tycoon to utilize the taste which he possessed and superintend the acquisition of a representative collection? We know it did not.

But surely the art world cannot have been indifferent to the advent of a phase of art which must have struck them with its individuality and beauty? Yes, it was—and its only excuse is that, in the sixties, Victorian art was booming to an extent that would, and naturally did, indispose it to turn aside from pleasant paths and from a form of art that was altogether acceptable to its patrons. Yet one or two artists, to their credit be it said, did recognize that a novelty by which they might profit had come to light. Rossetti was one, although he did not utilize it in any

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way, so far as I am aware. Whistler, on the other hand, at once availed himself of it, but not perhaps to the extent that some have supposed.

Whistler's Peacock Room, if the portrait be excepted, was quite as Chinese as Japanese, and the decoration of his house at Tite Street was altogether Chinese in character and appearance. The Yellow Room was so, and so were his combinations of blue and white. His fondness for the latter was no doubt assisted by his intimacy with that great connoisseur of Chinese blue and white, Sir Henry Thompson, from whom Whistler accepted what was practically the only illustrative work he ever undertook, namely, the picturing of all the fine pieces in the doctor's collection.

When Whistler's effects were dispersed by auction in 1880 there were not a dozen lots of Japanese origin in the sale, whilst there was a good deal of Chinese furniture and ware of superior quality. Amongst the former were some Japanese picture-books, which I purchased, and some of which I have here to-night. They have no quality to recommend them, but they are nevertheless of considerable interest, for they clearly show whence he obtained the first ideas for his "Nocturnes" and his "Battersea Bridge."

Two architects of note also recognized the merits of Japanese art—Mr. Norman Shaw and Mr. Nesfield being at once fascinated by it. Mr. Spiers has shown me a design of that time for a town hall by the former, in which Japanese influence is clearly present, and he will, I hope, to-night give us some further information concerning a collecting craze which these architects initiated.

I hope also that we may hear something concerning the 1862 Exhibition itself from a veteran who not only saw the collection, but at once recognized its merits. I refer to our member, Mr. John Leighton. So far as I can see, to that gentleman belongs the credit of having been the first Englishman to appreciate Japanese art. Mr. Spiers has shown me, and will kindly show you to-night, some prints which form part of a presentation that was made to his father, whilst Mayor of Oxford, in 1862. These were the gift of Mr. Leighton, and, I take it, must have been the pioneers of thousands that have since flooded our markets. They are quite modern productions, and have but slight merit

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as works of art; but they must have been of extraordinary interest to the decorator of the period, deeply committed as he was to Owen Jones's schemes of ornament, and also to the woodcutters, at that time a by no means inconsiderable body.

Mr. Leighton was not content to keep his appreciation of the new art to himself. He promptly put down his views on paper, and communicated them to the Royal Institution on the 1st of May, 1863. He therein analyzed its merits and demerits with thoroughness and impartiality, and, as more intimate knowledge of the subject shows, with a remarkable prescience.

Like others before and since, he urged upon the Government the acquisition of a representative collection for the museum then being formed at South Kensington. The whole attitude of the country towards Japanese art might have been different had his advice been taken, but at that time those at the head of affairs could recognize nothing that had not the verdict of centuries to certify to its value.

The 1862 Exhibition, as far as I can see, came and went without having imparted any abiding Japanese influence to English taste. The following years produced no literary work dealing with the art, nor does the decoration of the time show any infection.

It required another and yet another exhibition to thoroughly awaken Europe. Unfortunately, these did not take place on English soil. For reasons it will not do to go into here, an idea grew up in England that exhibitions hindered rather than fostered the furtherance of matters with which they concerned themselves. So the opportunities for a World's Fair were damaged by inconsiderable annual shows, and since 1862 nothing worthy of the name has come to fruition here.

In France it has been different. The years 1867, 1878, and 1900 have seen magnificent displays, which, if they have had no other result, have certainly placed that country in the forefront as an appreciator of Japanese art, and as the emporium to which all the best examples have since converged.

We now pass on to the Paris Exposition of 1867, the intervening years having been practically barren of either art publications or art displays which recognized Japan.

The Japanese objects shown in the Champs Elysées in 1867 appear to have amounted to some thirteen hundred in number,

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and are stated to have come for the most part from the private museums of princes, and therefore to have had nothing in common with ordinary pieces of commerce. It was intended that they should be returned to Japan after the close of the exposition, but the political upheaval in Japan evidently prevented this. They were purchased *en bloc* by some speculator, and sold in the following year, 1868, after an exhibition in the Rue de la Victoire. They are described in the catalogue as "Pieces Anciennes, laques exceptionelles, meubles precieux, bronzes qui ne cedent pas au plus beaux produits Europeæns," etc. But European names for the various articles had not yet crystallized, for we find *netsuké* described as "Petit jouets" and *inro* as "Trousses à Medicin."

The Japanese section at the French Exposition subsequently found (as in our case) an able advocate in the person of Mr. Chesneau, who in 1869 advocated its merits at a conference at the Union Central des Beaux Arts.

The Franco-Prussian War in the following year should have given England a chance of regaining her position as regards the art products of Japan, but save and except at Liverpool, years passed without any interest being taken in it. There an Oriental Exhibition was held in 1872, under the direction of Mr. Audsley, who also, in 1874, read a paper on "Japanese Art and Modern Enamels" before the Architectural Association.

About this time Japanese articles began to appear in the sale-rooms, and we have the "choice collection of Mr. Mitford" being sold at Christie's in 1875. The feature of the sale was the *netsuké*, the nature of which it was felt desirable to describe in the catalogue at some length. Their novelty evidently attracted the *dilettanti*, for they sold for very good prices, reaching even £20 for a specimen.

In the following year the first book in English on Japanese art, and one far in advance of anything that had yet been seen, appeared, but it was written at Florence in 1875 by an American, Mr. Jarves, and published in America.

In the same year, 1876, an Exhibition of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery was held, under the supervision of the Science and Art Department, at the Bethnal Green Branch Museum. Although it was described in the preface to the catalogue as having been gradually brought together in a somewhat desultory

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manner during a period of several years, it was certainly the best that had hitherto been shown in England, and by additions made during its lengthy stay there, it illustrated in a satisfactory manner the ceramic art of the country. An additional value was imparted to it by the catalogue having been written by Mr. Augustus Franks, who was one of the first to recognize the merits of Japanese art, and thence onwards was a diligent student and collector from the point of view of its ethnological and historical rather than its artistic side.

Ceramics seem to have had an interest for our national art advisers to the exclusion of almost everything else, for almost directly after this the authorities acquired all those about to be exhibited at the Philadelphia World's Fair, and issued yet another descriptive catalogue concerning them.

Later on in the year 1876 a collection of specimens of Japanese art was lent for exhibition to the same museum by a member of the Japan Society, Mr. W. J. Alt, the articles being subsequently sold at Christie's. In the introduction to the catalogue written by that gentleman, and issued under the direction of the Science and Art Department, Mr. Alt drew attention to the fact that the taste and originality of design of Japanese art was already largely influencing our own art manufactures—designs for shapes and decorations of pottery, patterns and combinations of colour in textile fabrics, painting of fans, enamel-work, in fact, everything which the craftsman is capable of imitating or adopting, having been largely seized upon and copied, and he mentioned that this was even the case with the finest pieces issuing from the houses of Minton & Elkington. But, he adds, "Our French neighbours have been before us in discerning and appreciating this new school of art."

At this time the luxurious volumes on the "Keramic Art of Japan" appeared, from the pens of Messrs. Audsley & Bowes, and a series of articles in the *Art Journal* by Sir Rutherford Alcock.

But it was the display at the Exhibition at Paris of 1878 that set the seal on the recognition of Japanese art, and that elicited the admiration, not of the French alone, but every other nation that travelled thither. Naturally it was to the first named that all the finest exhibits fell when they came to be sold. An admirable catalogue to the collection was made, and in the preface

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M. Matzugata spoke in the following apologistic terms concerning its object:—

"Japan being very little known in Europe in consequence of the small number of persons who have visited it, the Commission has felt it a duty to compile a work that will instruct the foreign reader as to its climate, the situation of the country, and its arts."

In the same year, the Burlington Fine Arts Club held an Exhibition of Paintings, for which an introduction was written by one of our original members, and a member of our Council, Mr. Frank Dillon, who, himself an artist, was one of the earliest to draw attention to the beauties of Japanese drawings in a volume of well-reproduced illustrations.

In 1878 also, we find Mr. William Anderson, the first chairman of this Society, drawing attention to the Pictorial Art of Japan in a paper read before the Asiatic Society. This was the seedling which afterwards grew into his two monumental volumes—"The Descriptive Catalogue of Paintings in the British Museum, 1886," and his "Pictorial Arts of Japan." Dr. Anderson had, during his six years' sojourn in Japan, brought together a large collection of paintings and drawings for the purpose of illustrating the historical, intellectual, and technical development of what he termed "an ancient and remarkable phase of art." As is well known, that collection was acquired by the British Museum in 1882, and the trustees were sapient enough to print his descriptive and historical catalogue—a work which has been of more service to students than perhaps any other that has been compiled under their auspices.

The year 1880 saw the publication of a volume which drew attention to the vast resources that lay ready to the hand of the ornamentalist. Its author, Mr. Thomas William Cutler, also a member of this Society, was one of the earliest students of Japanese ornament, and this volume was the outcome of eighteen years' examination of its beauties.

In 1880 was also issued as a Government paper, Consul Quin's well-known Report on the Lacquer Industry.

A sidelight is thrown at this time on the appreciation of the art in England in a catalogue I came across recently, issued by the firm of Liberty & Co., whose founder has done more than any one else here to persuade the world into a liking for, and recognition of, the beautiful phases of Japanese colour-schemes.

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It is entitled, "A Catalogue of Eastern Art Manufactures from Persia, India, China, and Japan." To-day, Japan would assuredly not take the back seat in any catalogue of Eastern art.

In 1883 Gonse's magnificent work "L'Art Japonais," a work which, I believe, through its unrivalled illustrations, called into existence more students and collectors of the art than any work before or since, was brought out.

We are now reaching times that are well known to us, and I would therefore only mention the Loan Exhibition held at The Fine Art Society's in 1888, for the reason that it is the only display approaching completeness that has been held in England. Between fifty and sixty collectors, including the late Duke of Edinburgh, contributed; a number which I believe marked the high-water line of collectors here, few names having been added since that time, and several having fallen out of the list. The rooms were not large enough to hold the crowds of people, who evinced a real interest in it.

The year 1892 was noteworthy for the foundation of this Society.

One other matter only in this connection I need mention, and that is the further opportunity offered to our neighbours in France of profiting by all that was best of certain phases of the Art at the Exposition Universelle of 1900. The unfortunate boycotting of that great gathering by the English deprived many of our countrymen of the unique opportunity of seeing a collection garnered from the royal and noble treasure-houses. It was indeed a surprise, making all that one had hitherto been accustomed to regard as of the first water dwindle into insignificance. It was also a lesson as to how a show should be displayed —no crowding together of objects, combating for pre-eminence, but each with ample room, and only so many shown as could be seen without weariness. Nor did the loss to English-speaking countries end here, for as a heritage and sequel came the volume on "L'Art du Japon," in the French language, issued by the Japanese Commission, and published regardless of expense.

Of the opportunities afforded to other countries time will not allow me to speak, but mention must be made of the volumes "Japan" and the "Industries of Japan," issued by the Commission sent out by the Ministry of Prussia in 1874 and 1875 under Professor Rein, and which, having been fortunately

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translated into English, have been of much service to students in this country.

Germany has also had the invaluable services of Professor Justus Brinckmann, who at the Kunst and Gewerbe Museum at Hamburg, has made perhaps the most complete display in the world of certain objects of Japanese art—certainly the best-catalogued and arranged. He has further aided the German community by finding Japanese students with art instincts, and training them up so that they may be of real service in translating Japanese works on art and compiling German text-books from them.

Such being the opportunities afforded to the various nations of learning somewhat concerning Japanese art, how have England's chances compared with those of others? Shortly, as follows:—

She was first in the field with the Exhibition of 1862.

She has suffered materially through this not having been supplemented by others.

She has had her fair share of literature available for her education.

She has received little assistance from Government and those directing her museums in most of the branches of Japanese art, notably lacquer and metal work, by which the art of Japan is mainly distinguished.

She has had in the Japan Society an advantage during the last thirteen years of an organization that should have materially aided an appreciation of the arts.

Thus she has had little to complain of as regards opportunities. How has she availed herself of them?

What do collectors tell us?—

That there appears to be little real appreciation of Japanese art in England, or any desire to learn. They will tell you how, more often than not, they open their treasures to the view of those apparently desirous to see them, and from whom they anticipate some sense of satisfaction at the sight of objects they cherish so much—only to close them as soon as possible, because they quickly recognize that the contents call for no satisfying response such as the owner himself experiences and believes that his bibelots demand.

Those who have had similar experiences with collectors of

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other nationalities are fain to conclude from this that the English fall behind other races in their sense of art appreciation.

For instance, the tender regard, the affection, the respect, the veneration, which is manifest in the expression of almost every Frenchman when confronted with a fine specimen of Japanese art, is to be found only in very rare instances on this side of the water. Undoubtedly in some cases it is carried by the Frenchman to extremes, and becomes suspiciously artificial, as some of us have experienced when time was an object, and we have been set down before a piece of lacquer or pottery, which itself was reverently placed on a fine piece of suitably contrasting brocade, and have been expected neither to handle nor breathe on it, but to sit in silent adoration before it for a space of time which meant seeing a very few objects in the course of a long morning. But this is very different to the indifference—nay, the brutality almost—with which a man who would treat an Italian bronze with all reverence, handles a *tsuba* with a far more delicate *patina.*

I had occasion last week to be in Paris and to question a French critic, for whose opinion I have the highest regard, on the subject, and his reasons were very decided.

In the first place, he said that the French, the Americans, and the English regard and acquire Japanese art from quite different standpoints.

The Frenchman looks at neither the workmanship, the design, the age, nor the monetary value of a piece. He will pass by, without comment or regard, fifty or a hundred pieces; suddenly, intuitively, he seizes upon a piece that has for him a *charactere*—it is difficult to define this word, but it is some subtle quality, some individuality, that distinguishes it from its fellows—and he can rest neither day nor night until he acquires it. Hence his possessions are few, but they are marked by a notable *cachet.* Such a man is rare even in France—probably is one out of ten thousand.

The Englishman, in his opinion, has very rarely this sense—probably not one in a hundred thousand has it. The majority acquire their pieces for their supposed rarity, their age, or some other quality of the second rank. They are easily persuaded to buy a piece which perhaps they do not fancy to commence with, and, a still more fatal fault, they will purchase whole collections at a time because the dealer, knowing his man, will not separate

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them. The Englishman is also too apt to think first of the market value of the piece. It is offered him at £50; he wants it, but he has an idea it is only worth £40, and, although he ought to have it, he lets it pass, because he thinks he would be paying too much. With a Frenchman it is different; he weighs the enjoyment he will derive from the 1000-franc note an object will cost, and the object itself, and decides in favour of the latter altogether apart from its market price.

The American has still more rarely the faculty for discerning *charactere.* It is with him a case of one in a million; but when he has it, it is to a degree even more intensified than with the Frenchman, and, as in his case it is almost certain that he is a man of means to whom money is no object, he always obtains what he desires, and of late years he has been the factor that has so raised the value of pieces endued with *charactere.*

What, again, is the verdict of our auction-rooms? Japanese art is there accounted of absolutely no worth. When pieces do appear, it goes to the heart of any one caring for such things to see the way in which the lacquer is handled, and the *tsuba, inro,* and *netsuké* are literally strung like onions on a string.

English dealers do not touch Japanese goods. In the first place, most of them neither know nor care anything about them, and those that do have found no demand for them, and so have gone out of the business.

And those who have in the past directed our museums? We have already spoken of these; but I may add, as an instance, showing their appreciation of the art, that when Mr. Gilbertson (who himself informed me that he would have left much of his collection to the nation had he thought it would have been appreciated) reproached the Victoria and Albert Museum authorities with the total lack of the representation of the first industry of Japan, namely, lacquer, he was met with the answer —"It would only appeal to the coachbuilders, and they are a very small body."

This being England's appreciation, how does it compare with that of other countries?

Time will only allow me to make a comparison with one of them, and I will therefore take the country which has certainly hitherto had the least advantages—I mean Germany.

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Here is Professor Brinckmann's opinion :—

"There is no decline at all in Germany in the interest in Japanese art—quite the contrary may be observed. A short time ago I accepted an invitation to give a lecture in Berlin. More than six hundred persons were present, and followed my lecture for almost two hours. Here in Hamburg my lectures, although given in the summer months, when most people prefer to spend their evenings in the open air, are crowded. They include such subjects as Chinese art in Japan, lacquer, *netsuké*, and sword-ornaments.

"Our provincial museums now collect Japanese art, and are not afraid to pay high prices. The Hamburg Museum, which was the first to collect Japanese art, has now the best collection of pottery and sword-ornaments in Europe, and is beginning to buy first-rate lacquer; for instance, a beautiful writing-case with dragon-flies at the Gillot Sale for 5400 francs. More and more collectors appear each year, and lately Germany has bought all the finest pieces at the French sales for very high prices.

"We only buy the best pieces, and the result is that the German dealers do their best to get them for us. The collectors who buy are far from being rich, but they concentrate their means on the best work, and 6000 marks has not been considered too high to pay for a single lacquer box.

"I believe we are only at the beginning of collecting Japanese art in Germany."

He then goes on to give his opinion as to the lack of appreciation here :—

"It is probable that at the beginning people could not discern between the good pieces and the over-decorated modern work. The London Museums have omitted to guide the visitors. For instance, the collection of pottery in the South Kensington Museum is not at all a selected one, and the collections at the British Museum, although very rich, have not been made with a pure taste, but more to show all sorts of productions, especially of modern times. Such is the case with the *netsuké*, the lacquer, and the sword-furniture.

"When I was last in London I tried to discover and acquire good pieces, but without the least success—the market offered nothing of real value."

Such is the opinion of one who is recognized all over Europe

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as in the first flight of authorities on Japanese art, and it is not a flattering one for us.

One word more.

Maybe the estimate formed by England of the art of Japan may be the correct one. Maybe, as in the Tariff dispute now raging, England is right and all the world is wrong. Maybe we are right in giving a piece of *sang de boeuf*, which has no character save its colour, a very high place in our estimation, and relegating to an upper shelf a piece of Kutani redolent with the impress of its maker's individuality.

Maybe we are right in paying hundreds of pounds for a modern painting that has been evolved in a fortnight without trouble or any deep thought, and holding of little account a piece of lacquer that has taken years to produce ; or, on the score of archaism, appraising at a higher value a picture of a "squint-eyed Madonna" by an Italian primitive, than a Kakemono of the Incarnation of the Buddha, its anterior in age by many hundred years ; or, again, a so-called Damascene blade, which is not comparable for excellence to one by Masamune.

English taste has up to the present spoken her views in no doubtful voice. The rest of the world has also done so, but in a very different tune.

Which is right ?

The trend of art in the future is hardly doubtful. Thanks to photography and other mechanical processes which are capable only of the reproduction of realities, art to succeed must become more and more idealistic and poetic, and the races which are earliest to appreciate this will be most certainly those to the fore.

What may not be anticipated from the Japanese—a race that has shown such an amazing capacity to look forward, and whose work has always contained much of what we expect in the art of the future ? War and its hideous *sequelæ* may for a time postpone fruition in this direction, but in a people where heredity is so marked, the tastes of the past must survive any transitory dislocation. We may therefore assuredly anticipate an efflux of Japanese products that it will be well for England to study and cultivate. May she be in a position to recognize it at its value, and to assimilate its merits more than she has its art of the past.

If I may be allowed to say so, the Japan Society has not hitherto done all that it certainly might have in the way of

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educating English taste. It has had frequent opportunities, but it has up to the present been disposed to lay out its surplus funds in, I will not say riotous living, but in *soirées*, and such-like rather than in education. The money so spent might have met a great want in the maintenance of a Japanese expert and translator. I trust, however, that a change is about to come over our programmes, for an exhibition is in course of incubation during the coming summer, which, if it meets with the success it deserves, will fully compensate by its educating influence the hard work that it will entail upon your chairman, and those who so cordially co-operate with him.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Huish has opened a subject which will strike a chord in the hearts of many of us here, especially those who are collectors. I therefore call upon some of our friends here to speak on the paper.

Mr. LEIGHTON, F.S.A., M.J.S.: I have not come at all prepared to speak, but this is a subject which has always been very near to me—the recognition of Japanese art, and particularly the understanding of it. The Japanese show at the Exhibition in 1862 was certainly a very poor affair, compared with what it ought to have been. Things were not ready at all for the opening of the exhibition, and the display was held in a corner of the building.

Professor PHENÉ SPIERS (*Member of Council, J.S.*): The pictures to which Mr. Huish referred were at the Exhibition of 1862. They are of interest from two points, because they are proofs taken shortly after the preparation of the block, and because of the marking of the wood.

Carrying one's recollections of Japanese art in England back, the first time I ever heard of Japanese works of art was through Mr. Norman Shaw, and I remember when I was about to set forth on my long travels abroad that he advised me to go to Japan, for in this new country I should see art of the very highest possible type. He further offered me commissions for several thousand pounds should I go. The first objects of interest that came to England were *cloisonné* enamels. This was thought to have been a very ancient art, as there were no examples of it save in the Dutch museums, and it was thought to have been made for the Daimyos, and not to be allowed to leave the country. These enamels fetched a very high price—one little jar was sold for a hundred guineas; fifteen years afterwards it only fetched five pounds, as further specimens arrived from Japan, which were identical with the first.

On my return from my travels, I went to Whistler's studio at

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Chelsea, and there saw a *cloisonné* jar, and the decorations on the ceilings and walls were fans pasted on bamboo.

Albert Moore was a great admirer of Japanese art, and the decorations in the Great Queen Street Theatre, which were by him, were very much influenced by Japanese work. I am afraid that the members of this Society do not sufficiently study Japanese art, and are, therefore, indifferent to it.

Mr. SEYMOUR TROWER, M.J.S.: I have the greatest possible pleasure in proposing a cordial Vote of Thanks to my friend Mr. Huish for his most interesting paper. We all know of what great service he has been to Japanese art; we do not know much about Japanese art, but what we do we owe to him, and the paper which he has read this evening will stimulate further interest in this subject.

Mr. LEIGHTON: It gives me great pleasure to second the Vote of Thanks. It is curious how things were found out in Japan; there is a new method of three-colour printing which is one of the great industries here now, but I hear that in Japan this process has been known and carried on for many centuries.

Mr. HARDING SMITH (*Member of Council, J.S.*): I have great pleasure in endorsing the Vote of Thanks proposed by Mr. Seymour Trower to Mr. Huish. Mr. Huish has spoken about Japanese art in a very desponding tone, but I am afraid he is largely right. At the Exhibition of 1892, at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, we had an excellent opportunity of seeing Japanese art of the very highest quality, but unfortunately, owing to its being a private exhibition, it was only open to the few, but that which the Society proposes to hold this summer will be open to the many. It will also represent a different branch of art. The Burlington's was of lacquer and metal work; ours will be of everything connected with war. I hope we shall have a series of these exhibitions, and that next year we shall have a fine exhibition of lacquer work. We shall also hope to issue a good catalogue, and we cannot do better than follow in this respect the example of the Burlington Club.

The CHAIRMAN: Before putting the Vote of Thanks I should like to mention that some of our great critics have not touched the question of Japanese art—it seems to have been too new to them. Mr. Quaritch once showed me a letter from Mr. Ruskin. He had been in the habit of sending him great books of art, and Mr. Ruskin asked him not to send any more of those Japanese works, as they disturbed him, and it was too late for him to enter into those matters. It was too late for him to readjust his ideas on Japanese lines. When we speak of the present want of appreciation, we must remember that when the Japanese objects were first brought over there was a *furore* for buying them, and they were called "curios." Now you will always find a number of

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collectors ready and anxious to appreciate "curios," as there are many others who buy and like to collect ancient objects. One great reason is that they can put them about in their rooms, and they have a good decorative appearance. Now the old Japanese objects of art do not add to the decorative value of rooms, for they were made for other purposes, so "curio collectors" do not now appreciate or take the trouble to understand them. Art for art's sake is not very much known in this country, and until we give attention to, and take the trouble to learn about the art of Japan, we shall not understand it or add to our liking for it; but, when we do, the whole scene will be changed. Our lack of appreciation is due to our want of perception. I have much pleasure in putting the Vote of Thanks.

This was carried unanimously.

The LECTURER: I am very much indebted to you for the Vote of Thanks. I was afraid that some of the utterances in my paper might have been received with a storm of indignation. I should just like to make one apology; I should have mentioned Mr. Albert Moore's name; I knew him well, and he very early recognized the art of the Japanese. Nor did I mention the Burlington Fine Art Club's Exhibition of 1892, because I considered it too recent.

The proceedings then terminated.

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THE

EIGHTY-SECOND ORDINARY MEETING,

(SEVENTH OF THE FOURTEENTH SESSION,)

MAY 10TH, 1905.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, London.*]

MR. CHARLES HOLME, F.L.S., *Chairman of Council, J.S.*, took the Chair at 8.30 P.M., when a Paper entitled "SOME REMARKS ON JAPANESE, CHIEFLY COMPARED WITH THE CHINESE LANGUAGE," was read by Mr. KITSUTARO TAKAHASHI.

The Chairman in opening the proceedings said: I think we are very favoured in having as a lecturer Mr. Takahashi, who, having spent five years in China and studied the language, must be able to tell us much that we do not know on the subject before us to-night. Mr. Takahashi was at the Legation at St. Petersburg, but in consequence of the trouble between Russia and Japan had to leave, and it is fortunate for us that he has come to England, where the more he is known the better he is liked.

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SOME REMARKS ON JAPANESE, CHIEFLY COMPARED WITH THE CHINESE LANGUAGE.

By KITSUTARO TAKAHASHI.

"ATTACHÉ" IMPERIAL JAPANESE LEGATION, MEMBER OF COUNCIL, J.S.

IT has happened with me very often to be asked by my English friends, "What sort of language is Japanese?" To this question I have always found it very difficult to make an adequate answer, for Japanese, in many respects, is widely different from most of the European languages, and in its fundamental points it differs even from Chinese. In several cases I have found, moreover, that my questioners were confusing the Chinese, Japanese, and Corean languages, because these three nations, in one way and another, make use of the same Chinese characters, or ideographs. These circumstances induced me to venture on the selection of my present subject for the paper which I am now about to read.

But, first of all, I must ask your indulgence in that I am by no means a competent individual to undertake the consideration of this rather technical subject, and all that I can attempt to do, is to give a general idea of the language of the Japanese people, and wholly to disclaim any intention of discussing the subject from a scientific or philological point of view.

For the sake of convenience, I have divided my subject into three parts.

In the first part I propose to consider briefly the external relations of the Japanese language and its position among other far Eastern tongues.

In the second part I shall endeavour to examine its intrinsic value as a medium of communication, together with the

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relationships of the letters employed, as well as to give a general description of the grammar, etc.

In the third part I shall attempt to forecast the probable improvement that is likely to be made in the Japanese language in the near future.

PART I.

The origin of the Japanese language, like the Japanese race itself, is not clearly known. As there are many opinions concerning the origin of the Japanese people, so there are many different views as to the formation of their language. As several researches into the origin of the Japanese race, undertaken from the etymological standpoint, have not been very successful, so to investigate the source of the Japanese language by the reverse process would, it is to be feared, be equally barren of satisfactory result. But, in my private opinion, I am inclined to think that in such an investigation the following few statements should receive more or less corroboration :—

1st. That the Japanese language belongs to the Northern Mongolian stock, and not to the Chinese or Malay families.

2nd. That the Japanese language is distinctly different in its origin from Chinese, and that it is only in respect of its comparatively modern history that it has been affected by the admixture of Chinese elements.

3rd. That modern Japanese assumes some aspects of a mixed language.

I shall try to discuss those points in the above order.

The term which I have just used, "Northern Mongolian stock," may perhaps be a trifle obscure, but by it I wish to imply a system of languages appertaining to the different Mongolian tribes who are living, or have ever lived, on the vast northern borders of the Chinese Empire. These tribes belonging to the Mongolian race have, in Chinese history, been known by an ambiguous appellation of "northern barbarians." But, in reality, these so-called barbarians have included people of different races as well as different tribes, and having always been repressed by the more civilized and stronger Chinese race, and also retarded by their nomadic state of life, have always been, willingly or unwillingly, mere wanderers over the northern plains of China.

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Indeed, some of these tribes were driven away from their homes even as far as Eastern Europe.

Such having been from ancient times the unsettled conditions of life among these races, in addition to their lack of records, anything in the nature of systematic historical studies of them becomes very difficult. But by closely following the records in the long history of China, in which several episodes arising from the contact of these races with the Chinese are mentioned, and also by comparing the modern researches made by scholars into the antecedents of the still remaining peoples and tribes like the Coreans, Manchus, Tunguses, and Mongolians, we are brought to the conclusion that these peoples, while they differ from one another in some of their characteristics, have nevertheless much in common, and if they may not be regarded as a distinct group, they have close relationships binding them more or less together. While it is a well-known fact that the Chinese race sprang from the valleys of the Yellow River, it is also, without much doubt, to be presumed that these northern peoples had other and separated cradles from which they may trace their growth, and it is interesting also to see that this ethnological line of demarkation at the same time coincides with the etymological division. To state it briefly, all their languages, including Japanese, belong to the agglutinative category of languages, while Chinese is a typical specimen of a monosyllabic or isolating language. In short, I am inclined to conclude that this Mongolian family of languages probably had its rise in the West, among the slopes of the Altai mountains, and travelled towards the East through Eastern Turkistan, Mongolia, and Manchuria, to Corea, and then crossed the sea into Japan, thus forming the Japanese language as the extreme Eastern link of the chain.

That the Japanese language was not directly derived from the Chinese there can be hardly any question. The statement may be corroborated in several ways. Not to mention phonetic differences of the two languages, a simple comparison of a few words would suffice to show an entire lack of harmony between them. Chinese words are almost exclusively monosyllabic, while Japanese chiefly consists of bi-, tri-, or polysyllabic words. Chinese in pronunciation has four or five tones, while Japanese has none. There are some sounds which exist in the one, while they do not exist at all in the other. The composition of the

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expression, that is to say, the order of the arrangement of the parts of speech in a sentence, is also in no sense identical in the two languages. In this respect Chinese more resembles such a language as English than it does Japanese.

For instance,

In English, we are accustomed to say:—

I like London very much.

In Chinese,

我愛倫敦很好

But in Japanese,

私ハ大ヘン倫敦カ好デス

that is,

I very London like.

In the Corean language the expression will take the same form as in Japanese.

Thus, theoretically speaking, in its question of origin, the Chinese language is more of a stranger to Japanese than is English to the Arabic or Persian languages. I must, however, here call your attention to the fact that the above applies merely to the question of the origin of the language. When we come to deal with modern Japanese, the matter stands very differently, so that it is essential to regard it from a quite different point of view. As a matter of fact, modern Japanese has borrowed so much from Chinese, not only words, but also letters, that to discuss the topic without referring to Chinese would be quite impracticable. The introduction of Chinese is a matter of rather ancient history, but I think it may be advantageous that we should see when and how such an important change, or, it may even be termed an evolution, was brought about.

The international intercourse of Japan with her Continental neighbours dates back to the first century of the Christian era. This earliest intercourse was naturally limited to the minor states then existent in the Peninsula of Corea. The first Chinese literature was introduced into Japan through Corea as the intermediary, and the Chinese classics first found their way to Japan at the close of the third century A.D. This earliest stage of our relations with Corea lasted several centuries, and it was even intimate in degree, yet, from an intellectual

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point of view, Japan seems to have been but little affected thereby. Japan came under the influence of Chinese civilization only after we had entered into direct intercourse with that country. The commencement of our close acquaintanceship with China dates from the earlier part of the seventh century A.D., which was coincident with the rise of the Tung Dynasty, one of the most brilliant epochs in Chinese history. The Tung Dynasty was, among other things, particularly noted for its superiority in respect of political institutions, as well as for its unusual endowments in respect of literary genius and talent. Japan, on the other hand, then ranked low in every branch of civilization when compared with China. The natural result was that envoys were sent from Japan to the neighbouring empire, and students were dispatched thither to study its institutions and literature. Thus Chinese ethics, and the teachings of Confucius, as well as Buddhism, were all introduced in turn. Buddhism, in the first instance, came from Corea as far back as 551 A.D.

The Tung Dynasty, which lasted about three centuries, was succeeded by the Sung, an equally brilliant epoch, and the Sung lasted until the middle of the thirteenth century, when it succumbed to the northern barbarians known in the world's history as the Mongol Empire, created by the famous Ghengis Khan. Japanese intercourse with China lasted, with more or less close relationship, till the downfall of the Sung, when, Japan herself being invaded by the formidable Armada of the Mongols, the intimacy came to an end.

It was, indeed, during this long intercourse that every kind of Chinese civilization, intellectual as well as material, was imported into Japan, and the characters or ideograms of China were naturally included among this wholesale importation, and these ideograms ever afterwards became the principal elements of Japanese letters. Of the manner of the adaptation of them and its effects I shall speak in the second part.

At the outset I said that modern Japanese assumes the aspect of a mixed language. Of such foreign elements as are traceable, I refer, of course, in the first place to Chinese; but, apart from Chinese, there are other foreign admixtures—Sanskrit, for example, which was chiefly imported by Buddhists; and there are also Corean words, which the geographical proximity of the two countries allowed gradually to flow in; of the actual extent

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of these importations, however, I am at present unable to speak definitely. It may be interesting to add that most of these foreign words have undergone more or less phonetic change on their introduction to Japanese, and are, at the present day, used by the public at large without the least consciousness of their foreign derivation. In the last category I may mention many modern European terms which have found their way into our language, principally obtained from the Dutch, Portuguese, or Spanish, and, more recently, from French, English, etc. They are too new, however, to be fully assimilated by the Japanese, and remain *primâ facie* foreign words.

Here are a few examples—

Chappo	...	French "chapeau."
Botan	...	English "button."
Pan ...	...	French "pain," for bread.
Shabon	...	French "savon," or perhaps from the Spanish form.
Bisteki	...	English "beef-steak."
Bakets	...	English "bucket."
Cup ...	...	English "cup."

PART II.

In Japanese we have not an alphabet, as the term is understood in connection with European languages. Therefore, when we set out to explain the structure of the Japanese language, we cannot follow the course we should adopt when comparing different European languages. The Japanese national letters, which were invented after the introduction of the Chinese literature, though they are not ideograms, are not, strictly speaking, an alphabet. They are a series of syllables, and represent sounds, but have no other functions. This alphabet is called "Kana," or *go-ju-in*, which literally means "fifty sounds," and is as follows—

パ	バ	ダ	ザ	ガ	ン	ワ	ラ	ヤ	マ	ハ	ナ	タ	サ	カ	ア	
ピ	ビ	ヂ	ジ	ギ		キ	リ	イ	ミ	ヒ	ニ	チ	シ	キ	イ	五
プ	ブ	ヅ	ズ	グ		ウ	ル	ユ	ム	フ	ヌ	ツ	ス	ク	ウ	十
ペ	ベ	デ	ゼ	ゲ		エ	レ	エ	メ	ヘ	ネ	テ	セ	ケ	エ	音
ポ	ボ	ド	ゾ	ゴ		ヲ	ロ	ヨ	モ	ホ	ノ	ト	ソ	コ	オ	

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Of the above fifty syllables, or, more exactly, seventy-five syllables, the five letters of the first line represent Japanese vowels, and the other forty-five letters, with their double forms, are consonants. The most important difference of this alphabet from yours consists in its unfitness for spelling the words. Therefore, when we want to express speech by means of this alphabet, we have simply to arrange its syllables according to their sounds as they are spoken.

For instance :—

It is warm this evening.

コンバンハアタタカデス

As will be seen from the example, the method is very simple. But this "Kana" system at the same time has many defects, not only in respect of its being troublesome to read when written, but in that it is sometimes even unintelligible when different homo-phonetic words, of which there are a good number in Japanese, are employed together. So, in fact, for practical purposes, we do not write Japanese in the "Kana" style.

The modern form of Japanese is composed of Chinese characters and the Japanese alphabet mixed together in such a manner that the principal words in a sentence are written in Chinese, and the Japanese alphabet only used in an auxiliary sense.

Example—

コンバンハアタタカデス
今晩ハ暖デス

You will see, from the example just taken, that the subject コンバン in above sentence is represented by two Chinese ideograms, 今 and 晩, and, to determine its nominative case, a post-position ハ follows it, and the adjective アタタカ is also represented with Chinese 暖. But here, instead of being pronounced in Chinese, it is pronounced in the Japanese equivalent アタタカ. The verb デス is only used as an auxiliary to determine the completeness of the adjective. This combined use of Chinese and Japanese was, no doubt, a great advance, as compared with the "Kana" system, in making clearer the relations of the words in a sentence. But, as you will have noticed from the above sentence, the Chinese ideograms used

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are apparently subject to two different ways of pronunciation. In case of コンパン they were pronounced in Chinese, but in アタタカ it was pronounced according to the Japanese equivalent, アタタカ, quite different from the Chinese sound "dan."

This is, perhaps, an almost unique example in which a language borrowed from another has undergone a radical change.

To explain the relations of Chinese to Japanese as illustrated above, it would be advantageous were we to go back a little, and examine roughly the nature of the Chinese language itself, and then see how it has received essential modifications in Japan.

The Chinese language, as elsewhere referred to, is an isolating language consisting of a series of inflexible monosyllabic words. The symbols representing these words also assume very complicated formations, perhaps the most complex shapes among the written characters of all languages in the world. They are, of course, not spelled, but are conventional signs, or ideograms. All material objects or imaginable human thoughts are represented by such signs, which, according to the standard Chinese dictionary, are said to aggregate about forty-four thousand.

The following are a few specimens of such ideograms :—

Ideograms of Simple Formations—

Mountain	River	Field	Child	Sun	Moon	
山	川	田	子	日	月	(modern)
						(ancient)

complicated—

Deer	Tortoise	
鹿	龜	(modern)
		(ancient)

or *compound formations—*

Wave	Rock	Bright
波	岩	明

These ideograms, when they were first imported into Japan, were, of course, inseparable from Chinese literature or 漢文 While the use of 漢文 was developing in Japan, on one side,

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there arose another use of the ideograms; that was to write Japanese speech with these ideograms irrespectively of the meaning of the characters, simply arranging the characters according to their phonetic value like the present "Kana" system. This phonetic Chinese system, as adopted in Japan, was afterwards named Manyo-Kana.

Then, again, there was invented another way of reading the Chinese ideograms, and it was that while these letters preserved their original sounds and meaning, another Japanese pronunciation was accorded to them, according to their Japanese equivalent of the meaning (or, 訓讀, as distinguished from 音讀); so that, in short, Chinese ideograms came to possess in Japan two quite different pronunciations (or, rather, ways of reading them), called 音 or sound, and 訓, or sense. (As to when 訓点 style of reading Chinese was adopted in Japan, there is no fixed opinion; some scholars date it back even to the period of our earliest intercourse with Corea.)

Example:—

		音 or Chinese.	訓 or Japanese.
Mountain	...	san	yama
River	...	sen	kawa
Field	...	den	ta
Woman	...	jo	onna

These ancient Chinese sounds differ again from modern Chinese, owing to the twofold phonetic changes that have occurred during the long lapse of time in China, as well as in Japan.

Now, bearing in mind the difference between 音 and 訓, let us again examine the sentence 今晩ハ暖デス. In analyzing the sentence, we shall find that the word コンバン is a word of Chinese derivation, and アタタカ is Japanese. Therefore here コンバン is pronounced according to its 音, or phonetic value, but as アタタカ is Japanese, the symbols applied thereto are pronounced in 訓, or according to their meaning. But if, instead of the single 暖, we add another letter, 氣, to 暖, then the combination must be read ダンキ, which also signifies "warm;" but it has now become a Chinese term, and must be pronounced as in Chinese. In a like manner, if we want to say, "He is a good man," we can say, アノ人ハ善ヒ人デス.

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or, also, アノ人ハ善人デス. The ideograms used are the same, but because the former expression is Japanese, it is read in Japanese, and the latter is read in Chinese because it is a Chinese term.

It is very difficult to explain this discriminative way of reading the characters, and, indeed, there are no definite rules on the subject that I could briefly allude to. For the present purpose, however, it may be sufficient to say that words of Chinese derivation should be read in 音, and original Japanese words, though represented by Chinese ideograms, should generally be read in 訓, that is to say, in their Japanese equivalent.

Now, I think I have perhaps dwelt too long on my explanation of the relationship of the letters, so I will touch only lightly on the grammar, without running the risk of wearying you by entering into details.

In Japanese, as in other languages, there are parts of speech. They are nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and so forth; but we have no prepositions or articles. The existence of prepositions is impossible in the very nature of Japanese, but in their stead we have post-positions.

Japanese nouns, like other nouns, are simple, but a fact to be noticed is that the Japanese tongue is very rich in possessing two appellations, in a vast number of cases, for a single thing. This is also a result of the mixture of Chinese and Japanese terms.

Example:—

		Japanese.	Chinese.
To-day	...	Kyō	Kon-nichi
To-morrow	...	Ashita	Myo-nichi
Sun	...	Hi	Tai-yo
Friends	...	Tomodachi	Ho-iu
Parents	...	Chichi-haha	Fubo
Dress	...	Kimono	Ifuku
Travelling	...	Tabi	Ryo-ko

Either of these two nouns may freely be used, both in the spoken and the written languages, but, as a general rule, in the spoken language more Japanese terms are employed, and in the written, more Chinese.

It may be interesting to notice here that the complaint, which

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I often hear from foreign students of Japanese, that they are perplexed with two apparently different nouns for a single object, is to be attributed to their confusion of the Chinese and Japanese appellations for a given article.

Japanese post-positions perhaps require some explanation. Some people would prefer to explain the functions of the Japanese post-positions as declension of nouns. This is one way, but for myself I do not agree with it, and I am inclined to treat them as entirely independent parts of speech. There are a somewhat large number of such post-positions, but the chief of them are:—

ga / wa	used in nominative case.		
no	„	possessive	„
o	„	accusative	„
ni / yé	„	dative	„

Examples:—

I will give some pictures to you.
Watakushi *wa* yé *o* anata *ni* agema sho.

Give me some paper.
Watakushi *ni* kami *o* kuda-sai.

The rains are coming down from the heavens.
Amé *wa* ten *kara* furi masu.

Rain leaks from the roof.
Amé *ga* yané *kara* mori masu.

Japanese verbs are not so difficult as is usually the case with other languages. This is partly because the tenses in Japanese are very simple; we have past, present, and future, but they are affected neither by the number nor the gender of the subject. In fact, we have no number or gender in our language. By this, of course, I do not mean that we cannot express the number of the nouns or pronouns, but it is done by the aid of adjectives, or adverbs, or sometimes understood by the context of the sentence. Of gender there is not the least trace of an existence in Japanese, as in other Far Eastern languages. The gender of words, in my opinion, is one of the strangest features of, and more especially developed in, the Aryan family of languages.

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It is sometimes convenient to define gender so far as animated objects are concerned; but where can be its usefulness when extended to inanimate things like houses, tables, stones, and so forth? In this respect, the simplicity of genders in English is an immeasurable relief to foreign students of the language.

Now I beg leave to conclude Part II., and in reflecting on what I have ventured to urge, I am afraid I have given you some rather difficult-looking examples of Japanese, but nevertheless, it is far from my intention in the least to give you the impression that Japanese is a hopelessly difficult language. On the contrary, it is an easy language to acquire, and, indeed, I am even inclined to count it among one of the easiest languages of the world.

PART III.

Although the Japanese language, unlike Chinese, does not lack elasticity enough for the absorption of new thoughts or for the ever-increasing number of new scientific terms, yet its peculiarity, particularly in regard to its letters, causes it to be placed in a rather awkward position among other languages of the civilized world, and not less at a disadvantage in respect of the ever-widening international relations of Japan. This fact has not passed unnoticed by thinking people in Japan, and indeed, for the past thirty years, it has been the dominant idea of these persons that something ought to be done towards ameliorating the present drawbacks inherent to the Japanese written language, for the double purpose of simplifying the study thereof in our national education, and of opening our doors in a linguistic sense to international intercourse. No definite plan for this amelioration of our system, or for the evolution of a new one, has yet found sufficient favour to justify its adoption, yet it is a fact that several suggestions, in more or less perfect shape, have been put forward during the past generation. Those suggestions, of course, varied in their magnitude, as well as in their method. But on certain points the would-be reformers were altogether unanimous, and their efforts were all directed to the amelioration of the difficulties and defects now existing in Japanese, arising from the partial use of Chinese ideograms, as well as from the wide deviation which there is between the spoken and the written languages.

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The most noteworthy suggestions which have at any time appeared are to be arranged in three classes.

First, there was the proposal to absolutely abolish the use of Chinese ideograms, and to use the Japanese alphabet (or "Kana") only. This proposition has principally been supported by the nation's classical scholars (國學者), and they formed, some years ago, a league called "Kana-no-Kwai," or, "The Society for the use of Kana." The Society has at present no existence, but for years it was endeavouring to propagate the idea of using "Kana" alone, and at one time it even had a considerable number of adherents. This proposition, however, was not too seriously considered by the majority of people, for although this method was not absolutely bad in its conception, the vital question was whether or not the complex ideas of modern thought and science could be, without much misrepresentation, expressed by the "Kana" only. Moreover, "Kana" itself was not considered to be an ideal alphabet in its intrinsic value as letters. In short, it was deemed rather a retrogressive than a progressive proposal.

The second proposition was essentially radical, but was more progressive in its plan. It was to invent a new alphabet and to spell the present Japanese as it is spoken. This proposition, theoretically, was not bad. But the difficulty was, first of all, to invent such an alphabet, not to mention the practical difficulty in propagating the use of such a new vehicle of expression among the whole nation.

So this idea came also to be dropped by practical people.

The third proposition was to adopt Roman letters. This suggestion emanated chiefly from scholars of European languages. A group of men maintaining this opinion, in rivalry to the "Kana" supporters, formed a society called "Roma-ji-Kwai," or, "The Society for the use of Roman letters." This society has likewise become extinct. Its proposal involved, in short, the introduction of Roman letters for general use throughout Japan, and the spelling of modern Japanese according to its colloquial style.

In the opinion of the Roma-ji-Kwai, this method was easiest in practice and would be most effective in result.

But even this proposition was not without its defects, which were, in most cases, the same as would be met with in a "Kana"

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system. First of all, the Roman letters, supposing that they were transplanted with their conventional sounds, might not be very ideal letters by which to represent Japanese speech. From among the limited number of twenty-six letters some might be superfluous, while some others would be more or less unsuitable to represent Japanese sounds.

Secondly, it was pointed out that the sudden Romanization of Japanese writing might plunge the mass of the Japanese people into complete darkness, for it would render unintelligible the origin of most words, a large proportion of which were derived from Chinese, and need the ideograms to give clues to their interpretation. These words, once Romanized, would naturally become untraceable to their original meanings, and immense difficulty would be experienced in arriving at their true and original signification.

These, in short, were among the drawbacks to the principal suggestions, and at present it is difficult to predict which of them, if any, will finally be adopted in the near future.

In conclusion, I may tell you as a fact, that this question of the amelioration of Japanese has already been taken up in a practical form, and in fact, a few years ago, by the suggestion of Parliament, a Committee was formed, consisting of competent persons, to investigate and report on the subject.

Their mode of procedure is, perhaps, very slow, but they have already made reports on two or three points, and I understand their present endeavour is directed towards making a way for the future introduction of some phonetic system, though whether in their decision they will lean towards the adoption of Roman letters, or of some other method of expressing sounds, I am unable to state.

I beg to thank you heartily for listening to me so patiently throughout.

The CHAIRMAN: We are most indebted to Mr. Takahashi for giving us a most interesting paper on such a difficult subject. It is not a popular subject, but he has endeavoured to make it intelligible to all. I now ask for discussion upon it.

Mr. GOJI UKITA (*Hon. Sec. J.S.*): It is very interesting to have an address by a Japanese who has lived in Japan, China, Corea, and Russia. The lecturer has, however, omitted to speak about the relationship between the Japanese language and that of the Ainos.

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This extended as far south as the mainland of Japan, and the name of Mount Fuji was derived from this language. I shall be obliged if Mr. Takahashi will kindly tell us about the relationship of the two languages.

I should also like to know if there is any similarity between the language of the Finns, or of Hungary, and that of Japan. I understand that Finnish and Hungarian are derived from the language spoken in Corea. I am also curious to know if there is any foundation for the theory that some of the lost tribes of Israel wandered as far as Japan and settled there. If such is the case, the Japanese should be cleverer in the art of money-making than they are. I ask this because, some two years ago, I read a paper in this very room upon the Imperial regalia, when I observed that the swords and jewels which were found in Japan were not unlike the swords and jewels found in ancient Asia Minor, while I am inclined to think that a further investigation of the subject will tend to show that Japan and Europe are more closely connected, as far as language is concerned, than is supposed to be the case.

The LECTURER: So far as the Aino language is concerned, it has not much relation to, nor influence on, the Japanese language. In reply to the question about the Hungarian and Finnish languages, I am sorry I cannot make any definite answer, because I am ignorant of these tongues, but perhaps more competent people will be able to answer.

Miss DE LOREZ: Perhaps the lecturer would kindly tell us what he considers as the cradle of his race. If it was in the Caucasus, then it would give an explanation.

Another question: Can the modern Japanese read and understand his ancient literature? With us the ordinary man in the street can scarcely read Chaucer, but, with the Poles, they can read their literature of A.D. 1200 quite easily, showing that the Polish language developed very early. Then the word *karma*, is it not an Indian word for God?

The LECTURER: The first question is out of the limit of this evening's lecture, but my private opinion is that the Japanese came from several different parts, and not from one cradle. As to the second question, only educated people can read the old literature. It is the same in any country.

I do not think *karma* is a Sanscrit word; it is a contraction of a more ancient form; there are many theories about its origin. It certainly existed before the introduction of Sanscrit into Japan. I think it is originally Japanese, but I do not know its derivation. It generally means "on high."

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Mr. HARDING SMITH (*Member of Council, J.S.*): Is it known if the Japanese had any alphabet of their own, or whether the Chinese writing was the first kind of writing that they adopted? For the parallel between the Japanese using the Chinese script is very similar to the still more ancient usage of the Babylonian Assyrians, who adopted the cuneiform writing of an earlier race inhabiting Babylonia, who wrote almost entirely in monosyllables. The people coming after them grafted this into their own language, and there is exactly the same parallel between the aborigines of those countries having one sound for a character and the Assyrians having another sound for the same character, and I have heard it stated that Mesopotamia was originally the country whence the Chinese came. It is a very ancient civilization —the writings and inscriptions go back before B.C. 5000, and they are very like the Chinese.

Mr. M. OKOSHI (*Member of Council, J.S.*): We have had a most elaborate lecture by Mr. Takahashi. I think the two questions asked by Miss de Lorez are most important, because unless we find who are our ancestors it is very difficult to find the origin of our language. We are supposed to have come down from heaven, but even then we must have spoken some language. China was supposed to be the most civilized country in the world, therefore everything the neighbouring countries imported was Chinese, and naturally the introduction of Chinese literature was very general. Our language is easy, but at the same time very difficult to learn the characters. There is the suggestion that we might get rid of these characters, but then there are all the Chinese characters, of which the Committee proposed to retain some, but as few as possible. To speak our language is not difficult to those who strive to learn—to those who do not, no foreign tongue could ever be achieved. In Japan there are a great many missionaries, who have learned to speak very well in a couple of years. I thank the lecturer for his interesting paper on the subject, concerning which I hope he will shortly make more investigations.

Mr. A. DOBRÉE, M.J.S.: First as to the difficulty of Japanese and its similarity with European language: I do not think there is any similarity between any European language and Japanese. For instance, if you take individual sentences and consider the ideas in them, you will see that they are all radically different from the feeling which would be in the mind of a European. A European would say, "I hope your father is well?" A Japanese would say, "Your august father, how does he deign to be?" the idea of the speaker fearing or hoping would not occur to him. In English you take a positive, in Japanese a negative. It is obvious that all things must have had a beginning originally, but of course at this stage the connection has absolutely disappeared.

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I was very sorry to hear that there is some probability that the use of Japanese characters may be to some extent abandoned. I think that would be a very great pity, for many reasons. Of course, it is true that the acquisition of so many characters, say four thousand, is a very great strain on the young in early life, but I think this strain has given the Japanese a most extraordinary advantage, for it has given them a power of memorizing things seen at a glance. With some practice you can look at a character and write it down correctly. Now, the Japanese as a nation, owing to this training, have acquired a power of memorizing, and that is one reason why they have been so successful in the present war—for they have made such admirable scouts. Also, I am inclined to think that the abolition of the characters would have another very great drawback. If you look at the books and compare the present form with the old ones, there is a change for the better, that is to say, the characters have become distinctly decorative; now that sense of beauty which the people have acquired from the contemplation of such characters (and they are some of the most decorative things I have ever seen)—if they are abolished will, to a large extent, be lost, and I think no amount of commercial success can now compensate for that.

The CHAIRMAN: The last speaker stated that no European language compares with the Japanese; he forgot the Hungarian, to which the lecturer referred, and which is constructed almost entirely on the same lines as the Japanese. He also particularly stated that the origin of Japanese was undoubtedly Mongolian, and that Chinese was not its origin. To learn a great number of characters is a drawback—yet there is an enormous interest in learning them: two ideographs make compound words, and these are curious to follow. But why talk of writing now? it has become a thing of the past in these days of typewriting.

A Vote of Thanks to the lecturer was proposed by Mr. Harding Smith, seconded by Mr. W. Crewdson (*Hon. Sec. J.S.*), and carried unanimously.

The proceedings then terminated.

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日本協會

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第二篇

TRANSACTIONS

AND

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE JAPAN SOCIETY,

LONDON.

VOLUME VII.

FIFTEENTH SESSION, 1905-1906.

PART II.

"How the Nikko Temples were Built." By Narinori Okoshi, Member of Council, *J.S.*

"Japanese Patriotism." By Alfred Stead, *M.J.S.*

"The Red Cross Society in Japan." By Ethel McCaul, *M.J.S.*

"Japanese Enamels, Ancient and Modern." By Charlotte M. Salwey, *M.J.S.*

"A Pilgrimage to Isé." By J. Morris, *M.J.S.*

"Buddhism as we find it in Japan." By Professor J. Takakusu, M.A., Litt.D., Ph.D., *M.J.S.*

"A Description and History of Japanese Lacquer down to the End of the Genroku Period, 1681—1708." By W. Harding Smith, R.B.A., Member of Council, *J.S.*

Proceedings at an Extra-Ordinary Meeting, Thursday, May 31st, 1906.

The Story of a Forgotten Decoration conferred by the British Government.

LONDON, 1907.

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Where two names of a Japanese person are given, the name in BOLDER TYPE is the Family Name.

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THE

EIGHTY-THIRD ORDINARY MEETING,

(FIRST OF THE FIFTEENTH SESSION,)

NOVEMBER 8TH, 1905.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, London.*]

His Excellency Viscount HAYASHI, *President of the Society*, took the Chair at 8.30 P.M., when a Paper was read by Mr. NARINORI OKOSHI on "HOW THE NIKKO TEMPLES WERE BUILT."

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the meeting, said: There is no need for me to introduce to you Mr. Okoshi, our lecturer for to-night; he is a member of the Japan Society and a member of its Council. Nor need I tell you what his subject is, as it is on the syllabus; but I will tell you that his paper on these temples is compiled from documents which have been preserved in his family, as I understand that one of Mr. Okoshi's ancestors had to do with the building of these temples. I am sure, therefore, that what he tells us will be of interest and value.

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HOW THE NIKKO TEMPLES WERE BUILT.

By NARINORI OKOSHI (*Member of Council, J.S.*).[1]

PRELIMINARY.

BEFORE reading my paper, will my hearers kindly allow me to express my sense of gratitude to H.E. Viscount Hayashi for honouring us to-night by presiding over this meeting?

I would also mention that the title of my paper may appear rather misleading, and some of you may be expecting me to deal with the architecture of the Nikko temples.

Perhaps a more appropriate title might have been: "The Preparations for building the Temples at Nikko." I have, however, adopted the present title on account of its brevity. My paper embraces only the preparations and organisation for these public works; I am afraid I may not be able to give satisfactory answers, therefore, to any questions arising outside of these. Such being my position, I hope that any discussion raised outside my sphere of influence will be carried on amongst the audience, in which case I will promise you to maintain a strict neutrality.

With this preface, I have now the honour to read my paper.

Numerous foreign travellers and foreign residents in Japan have acquired from my country artistic objects, either old or new, for which a large amount of money must have been paid, and these which we find both in Europe and America are the pride of their possessors. There is, however, one artistic object which no rich man, even a multi-millionaire, can acquire and take home, and that is the group of beautiful, exquisite, and

[1] Owing to Mr. Okoshi's absence from this country, this paper has not had the benefit of his revision.—ED. *Trans. J.S.*

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THE NIKKO TEMPLES.

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artistic constructions known as the Nikko temples. As long as Japan exists, they will remain on the Nikko mountain, as objects of admiration to those who visit that splendid and historic spot.

Now I have the exceptional privilege to possess a manuscript left by one of my ancestors, who happened to have been a member of the commission entrusted to superintend the last great repairs effected in the Nikko temples, seventy-three years ago, by the Shōgun Iyetoshi. This manuscript contains unedited historical facts concerning the gigantic undertaking of building these temples in the first year of Kanyei (1624).

Although nearly all foreign visitors to Japan may have seen Nikko and exclaimed "Kekko," yet there will be only a few, if any, who will be correctly acquainted with the object of the gigantic undertaking necessary for building these temples; it may be, therefore, interesting to give a brief account of the same.

I. First Step towards building the Temples.

As a first step, the Shōgun government appointed two commissioners, viz. Matsudaira Uyemonno daibu Masatsuna (松平右衛門太夫正綱) and Akimoto Tajimano-kami Yasutomo (秋元但馬守泰朝), both Daimyō.

The work was to commence on the thirteenth day of the third month of the first year of Kanyei, but before that date there were issued five decrees or ordinances concerning the building of the temples.

In the perusal of those documents, one cannot help admiring the thoroughness of the organisation, which imitated in some ways our present military system.

It must be remarked here that at that feudal time there was a great complication as regards land tenure. The work was not confined only to that particular part called Nikko, but it affected also the districts, taking Nikko as a pivot, 40 *ri* around (1 *ri* equals 2½ miles, so about 100 miles in each direction). Within this area there were properties belonging to Daimyō, those under the direct control of the Shōgun (御領), land owned by private persons, and land belonging to peasants and temples. Within the 40 *ri* radius each owner had to contribute his due for furthering this undertaking.

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Although there are no exact data in these documents, yet in the first ordinance a mention is made regarding the completion of the roads from Yedo to Nikko, and expressing the commissioners' thanks to all those who had contributed to their making; hence we may conclude that the road-making had been in progress in previous years, and that it had been completed at the time when the work upon the temples was ordered to begin.

The roads referred to were from Yedo to Utsunomiya, and hence to Nikko, gradually ascending and bordered by fine cryptomeria, a route which, before the railway was built, all visitors to that shrine used and admired because of the beautiful avenue of gigantic trees.

No doubt these roads were made in contemplation of the building of these temples, but I believe they were also made for the purpose of sounding the economical condition of the people; for it is stated in the first ordinance, that this public work was undertaken for the purpose of relieving the distress of peasants. We can conclude, also, that they were the result of the charitable spirit of the third Shōgun Iyemitsu. In fact, we find in the preamble of the first edict the following explanation, viz. "that in the previous year we requisitioned horses within 40 *ri* from Nikko for the purpose of road-making, but we found that not only poor peasants whose harvest amounts only to between 5 to 7 *koku* of rice (1 *koku* equals 5 bushels), but also large landowners could supply only a few horses, owing to the necessity of lending them for breeding purposes or of using them for agriculture. Notwithstanding this, peasants could not gather the estimated crops, which convinces us that there prevails a great distress among the people. We have therefore decided to begin this public work, in order to give relief to the poor people. Accordingly, each district under the direct control of feudal lord, small owner, temple, and peasant will receive remuneration, in proportion to its population."

II. Favour granted to the People.

From the first year of Kanyei (1624) during three years, the districts from Yedo to Nikko and those within one hundred miles from the latter, were exempted from paying land taxes to

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the extent of one-half—that is to say, instead of paying six-tenths of their crop of rice, only the three-tenths were levied. As to the feudal lords comprised within the radius, they were allowed to impose the same land tax, but were relieved from paying tribute to the Shōgunate during three years.

III. Obligation of the People and Commissariat.

In the districts within 40 *ri* from Nikko each family had to keep every year, during three years, one bag of unhusked rice containing 5 *to* and 8 *sho*, and one of 6 *to* and 5 *sho* of beans (1 *to* is about half a bushel, and 1 *sho* is one-twentieth part of a bushel).

As to the feudal lords, landowners, and temple lands, they were required to keep the same quantity of cereals, which value was paid by the Tokugawa authorities. This precaution was undoubtedly intended to provide food for the thousands of workers whom they had to call up and collect in Nikko. In other words, it was to establish several depôts within 40 *ri* of Nikko to feed an army of workers. Therefore, when called upon, these peasants and proprietors were ready to supply food or to bring it to a central depôt. It is indeed wonderful to think how even at that time they thought out all these emergencies. The next provision was as regards transport purposes. The authorities required each family of peasants who produced between 5 and 7 *koku* of rice to provide a horse, and the peasants and proprietors of soil above that category were ordered to bring horses themselves to the depôt. Another requisition was that each peasant family had to produce 5 *sho* of *shibu* (varnish obtained from unripe persimmons) per annum during three years, and such produce was to be deposited with the headman of the village. This was for the object of procuring varnish for timbers.

IV. Forced Labour of Coolies.

Each village within the radius had to supply coolies, the number of which was to be determined after careful examination of their moral and physical conditions. Able men between twenty-five and fifty years of age had to serve; they were fed

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and had to receive fair wages. There were two kinds of workers—the one called "Kokufu" (國夫), men of the country, and the other "Kobayato" (小隼), small samurai, who received better wages. Within the same radius, men above fifty and under sixty years of age, and who were invalids or sick, incapacitating them for the service, were required to make twenty pairs of straw sandals per month during three years, and to deposit them with the headmen of their respective villages. If one was unable to perform this duty on account of illness, then other members of the family were required to supply the same number of sandals; and in the case, again, of a man having no family, then other villagers had to give assistance to him in making sandals, and had to deposit without delay whatever number of sandals they could make. The object of this preparation was naturally intended to supply workers with footgear during the time of building.

V. How Women had to contribute.

All girls of between thirteen and twenty years of age who lived within 40 *ri* from Nikko were ordered to spin cotton yarns, each person charged to produce them having to make one *tan* of cloth (28 feet narrow width) every month. Women between twenty-two and forty were required to weave them into cotton cloths, which, being deposited in the village office, were handed over to the authorities when ordered so to do. In case of illness among these women workers, their relations and neighbours had to supply their assigned part, so that any deficiency might be made up by others to attain the regulation number of one *tan* of cloth per head of the female population. This also was for three years, so that there might be an accumulation of a large quantity of cloths, which, no doubt, were intended to be distributed among the workers.

In order not to interfere with agriculture, it was enacted that during the season of sowing seeds, of transplanting rice plants, and in time of harvest, a certain number of peasants were to be allowed to return home in order to attend to their labour there.

As to the wood-cutters, they received higher wages on account of the hardness of the task.

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At the end of this edict it is stated that all these regulations must be obeyed, and any infringement thereof would be met with adequate punishment.

VI. Facility of Communications.

Another ordinance dated the same day (January 21, 1642) gave warning to hotel keepers and pack-horse men along the road from Yedo to Nikko, to the effect that during the public work there, there might be much traffic on account of the travelling of Daimyō and other officials, therefore that they must be prepared for their accommodation, and also advise local officials to be lenient towards pack-horse coolies for small irreverencies, but to be strict in case of the infringement of the general laws.

VII. Artisans, and Help to their Families.

It must be remembered that the best artisans were found in Kiōto and Nara, on account of the famous temples built there in the past, so that all those artisans from these two districts were called to Yedo; besides, other skilful workmen throughout Japan were recruited to be enrolled into this huge army of workers. The ordinance says, "that all these artisans and their apprentices, through their respective masters of each craft, should be called in, and were required to come to Yedo not later than the end of August, and should be accommodated in the compound of Prince Mito's castle, in the temples Seiganji (誓願寺) and Kamiga Ike (上ケ池)."

Their travel was facilitated by the Government supplying them with pack-horses throughout their journey. The same ordinance ordered all the local officials to look after the wives, parents, and children of the artisans during their absence from home.

This was, no doubt, to prevent any distress among the families of the artisans who came from distant districts to co-operate in this gigantic undertaking, which lasted ten years, as will be shown hereafter.

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VIII. Arrangements for facilitating the Journey.

So far we know that all these artisans from every part of Japan were collected in August, 1642, in Yedo. A fortnight after the enactment of the above ordinance, we find another dated 6th February of the same year. By the latter it was notified that the officials should ascend the mountain Tozan (登山), which meant the departure to Nikko in the middle of March (third month), and the local officials were instructed to provide every facility for their journey, but, at the same time, not to be too exacting or harsh upon the inhabitants of the locality.

Generally, when Daimyō's processions proceeded, two or three days' previous notice was given to the places at which they would stop, especially to the inns, but under this emergency, that is, on this particular occasion, the people were ordered to be prepared to receive guests at any moment, and have coolies ready day and night for their service.

It was also notified that one of the two chief commissioners would remain in Yedo, and the other in Nikko, alternately every two or six months, so that all the business relating to the locality should be referred to the resident commissioner, who had full power to deal with administrative and judicial matters.

IX. Departure of Workmen from Yedo, and their Accommodation on the Mountain.

The ordinance dated 1st of March of the same year announces to the local authorities, that on the first of the following month (1st April) three batches of wood-cutters and stone-masons, each section headed by two masters, composed in all of 321 men, would be sent to Nikko. As the barracks for their reception had been built by the local carpenters, no carpenters were then required, and as the work of felling forests and cutting out stones required some time, all the carpenters were retained in Yedo, where they had to do preliminary work. Only two master carpenters for each section were to be sent during July, and local officials were instructed to be prepared for their accommodation. During the journey one horse and two coolies were placed at the disposal of each artisan, and their tools were

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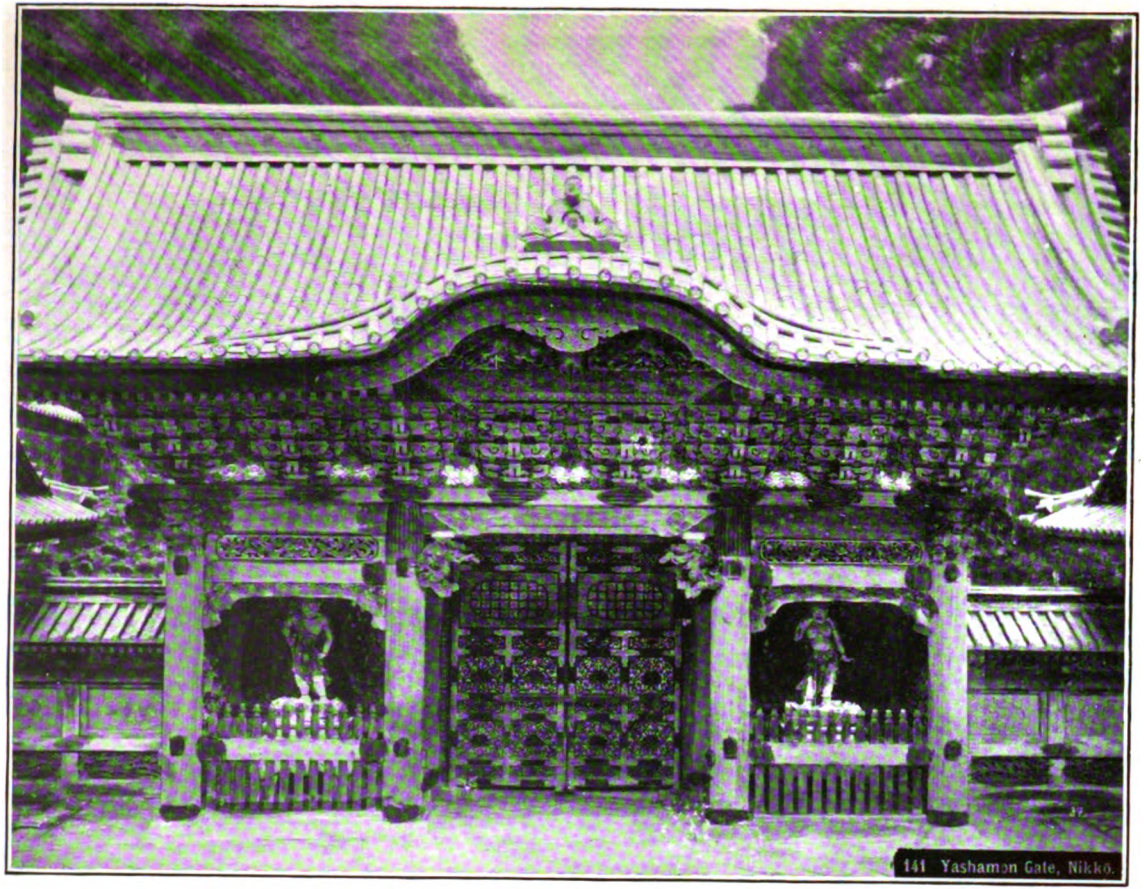

THE YASHAMON GATE, NIKKO.

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to be conveyed on pack-horses by each section, under the superintendence of one master artisan. It warns the local officials to see to these orders being executed. However, if, during the journey, there were among the artisans any who proved themselves obnoxious in their behaviour, they were to be discharged at once and adequately punished. The last ordinance, dated 13th of the third month of the same year, gave minute regulations to be followed by the officials as well as by the workers.

Its preamble begins by saying that, as there is only one law, there is no necessity of enacting a special one, so that those who are connected with this work (original expression is "those who ascend the mountain") will have to conform themselves to the common law as regards their conduct.

It reminds them, also, that as they enjoyed peace during the three reigns of Tokugawa Shōgunate, they should appreciate the benefits conferred upon them in having been able to help their parents, wives, and children, and in enjoying a peaceful life. Therefore, from the master artisans to the lowest class of coolies, they should devote themselves faithfully to co-operation for the present public works.

X. Erection of Gates in Nikko.

At the end of three roads leading to Nikko mountain, viz. Namiki Hon Mura (並木本村), Shimo Ko Den (下幸田), and Kanuma Shinden (鹿沼新田), new gates were to be erected, where officials were to be stationed, and the blowing of whistles used at the Hakkone gate station was made the signal for warning the people. All those who had to pass the gates had to be provided with a pass delivered by the authorities. Baggage exceeding the weight of 5 *kamme* (1 *kamme* equals 8¼ lbs.), even that belonging to the officials, had to be opened and submitted to examination. This was, probably, to prevent them from bringing up unnecessary objects, and also from taking away materials used for building purposes.

XI. Opening Ceremony.

As the opening up of the mountain, that is to say, the preliminaries of the whole work, would take a long time, the first

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persons who were allowed to enter the forest and to celebrate the inauguration were only the carpenters and the headmen of other artisans, whilst the wood-cutters and stone-masons, accompanied by their respective masters, were allowed to ascend first and to commence the work. All works being equally important, this is not, says the edict, to make any difference in rank among different artisans, but only to determine the order of proceedings required by necessity.

The first ascent of the mountain, and the celebration of the opening ceremony, having been considered a great honour, this enactment was no doubt to prevent friction and discontent among the workers.

XII. How the Workers were divided into Groups and Sections.

For the convenience of organisation, sections and groups were formed as follows: Sections were numbered by I, ゐ. RO, ろ HA, は. or the Japanese forty-eight alphabetical order. Twenty-five carpenters with two master carpenters, assisted by thirty superior and fifty inferior coolies, in all one hundred persons, formed a section. All other workers, such as wall-paper men, plasterers, stone-polishers, etc., were to form groups of five persons, and five groups, including masters, were to form one section, with thirty superior and fifty inferior coolies.

By the above organisation we see that one group was composed of five workers, and five groups formed one section with one or two overseers, besides eighty coolies who assisted them in rough work.

XIII. Mode of Payment of Wages.

The edict continued: The wages of the master carpenters and the ordinary carpenters were to be paid every two months, and those of the other artisans and their masters every month, and they were to apply to the paying offices as marked for each craft.

The wages of carpenters were to be at the daily rate of the amount of three days' earnings of their ordinary salaries for the skilled workmen, and for the second-class carpenters at the daily rate of two days' earnings of their ordinary salary. As to the

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local carpenters and wood-carvers, their wages were to be at the rate of one day and a half of their daily earnings.

This shows that they received specially high wages—that is to say, for the first, three times; for the second, twice; and for the third, one and a half the amount of their ordinary earnings.

It appears that there were several different barracks, to which they were assigned to live and work, viz. higher (上小屋) and lower barracks (下小屋), besides separate barracks to each commissioner, for we find the order that a group of five designers was required to attend and remain daily in the barracks. That is to say, twenty-five designers out of the whole lot had to attend to their duties at the barracks attached to the commissioner.

In olden times, even before the Restoration of 1868, there were only one or two holidays a month for officials as well as for working classes, nevertheless we find that for Nikko Temple workers, they enacted a special rule, which says that, irrespective of the weather, carpenters and other artisans had to work six days, and every seventh day they were allowed to have a holiday, which was quite an innovation, but corresponding to the custom at the present day.

It may be mentioned, also, that coolies were paid and fed even on these resting days. This and other provisions show what great consideration was shown for the interest and the comfort of the workers.

XIV. In Case of the Workers mourning.

Besides the different barracks mentioned before, it seems there was another kind, for such words as "peasant sheds" (百姓小屋) often occur in the enactment. It may be presumed that these peasant sheds were either temporary buildings in the country or simply peasants' dwellings. In case of information reaching the authorities relating to the death of one of the workers' relatives, the former immediately gave notice thereof, to the person concerned, who was ordered to be transferred to a peasant shed. If it was the news of the death of parents, grandparents, uncle, or aunt, he had to receive spiritual purification by a priest of the nearest temple (names of temples, Kongo Inn (金剛院) and Fugen Inn (普賢院)). The other artisans of

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the same section, from the moment of the receipt of their comrade's sad bereavement, had to cease work, and if they belonged to the higher barracks, they had to be removed to the lower shed, where they had to work for the following three days; again, if they were in the town shed or lower shed, they were required to remove to a peasant shed, where they had to be purified. For the mourning of a father or mother, it was fifty days from the day of the receipt of the news, and after the expiration of that period, mourners, after having received purification, were allowed to return to a lower shed. In case of a slight mourning, or on receipt of the news of the birth of a child, the worker concerned had to be removed to a lower shed, and after receiving purification on the following day, was allowed to resume work.

This purification (御祓) may be beyond the comprehension of English people.

It must be presumed that the building of shrines in commemoration of the first Shōgun of the Tokugawa Dynasty was considered a holy and sacred work; therefore those who co-operated in the undertaking, in case of mourning, were supposed to be affected by unholiness, and thereby incapacitated to continue the work, unless they were purified by certain holy ceremonies performed by a competent priest.

The case may be similar to that of disinfection in time of an epidemic.

XV. In Case of Illness of the Workers.

In case of the illness of a workman, he was cared for in his own barrack, and if, after ten days, there was no prospect of his recovery, he had to be removed to a peasant shed. Again, if after ten days of medical attendance there was no recovery, the master of the section had to apply to the proper officials for a pass. The latter had to take the necessary steps to send him home, and in case of a grave malady, a doctor had to accompany him home, and, if necessary, one of his comrades of the same district, or a friend of his, was allowed to travel and look after him. This minute rule looks something like the modern Red Cross institution.

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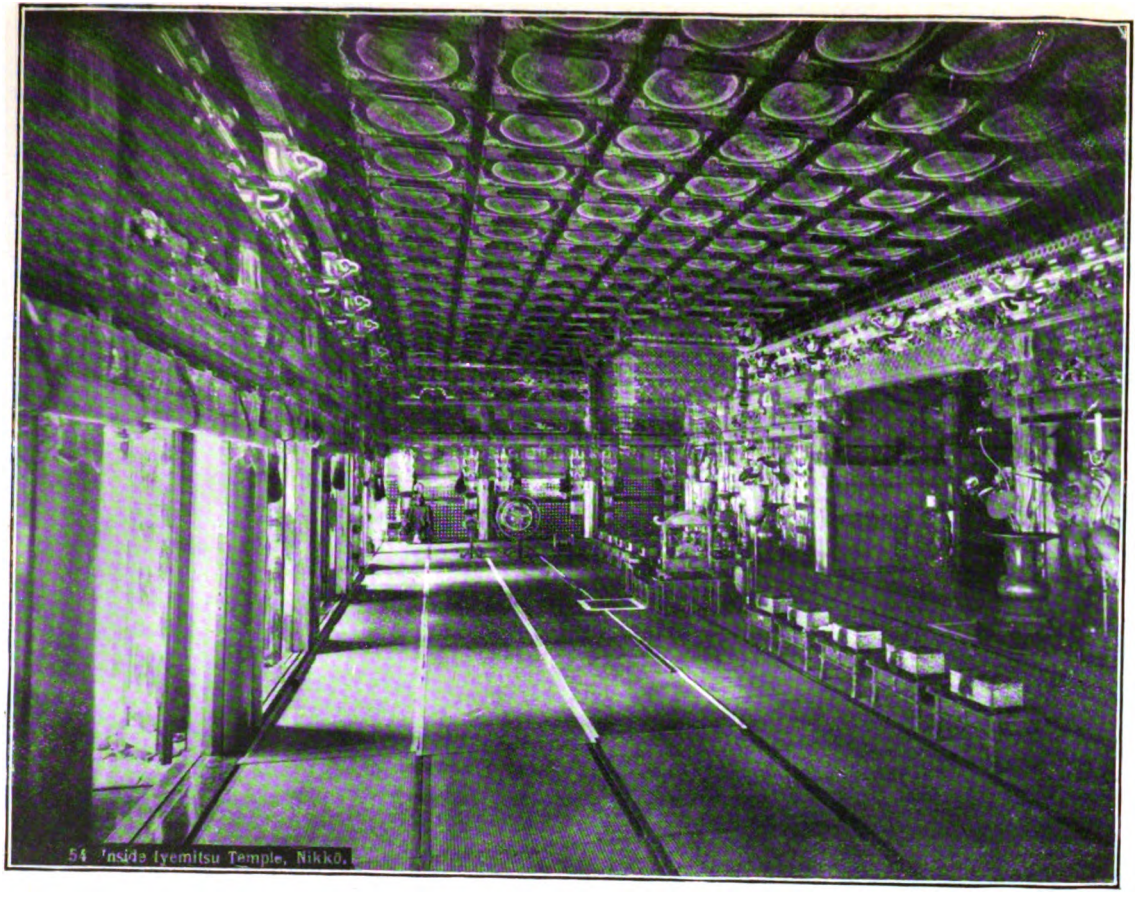

INTERIOR OF IYEMITSU'S TEMPLE, NIKKO.

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XVI. Leave of Absence granted to Workmen.

Out of forty-eight sections one section might send home two artisans every two months, their absence not exceeding fifteen days, inclusive of the days required for travelling. It is expressly stated that this favour was exceptionally granted in order that the workers might be able to inquire after the health of their parents, wives, and children, and also to attend to their private business.

As to the local carpenters and coolies, who were recruited among peasants in the district, they were allowed to return home in time for sowing seeds, transplanting rice, and in time of harvest. Lastly, it was stipulated that, this public work being considered as a sacred one, any crime committed, or infringement of the laws in Nikko mountain should be inquired into during the continuation of the buildings, but the case should be dealt with severely afterwards.

Such was the preliminary arrangement for this gigantic undertaking, which began in the first year of Kwanyei (1624) and terminated in the tenth year (1633), it having taken just ten years.

The result, all those know who have visited Nikko.

It may be mentioned that the shrine of the third Shōgun Iyemitsu, who built this temple, was erected by his successor about forty years afterwards.

XVII. Rewards and Conclusion.

The reward given to the second commissioner, Akimoto, ancestor of the present Viscount Akimoto, consisted of a sword by Bizen Munemitsu, and of the increase of 40,000 *kaku* of rice of his income, and 100 pieces of gold from the Shōgun, and of 200 pieces of bar silver and 500 bundles of silk wadding from the Princess of the Shōgun. The retainers of both commissioners received presents, but no mention was made in regard to the first commissioner, Matsudaira, for what reason it is difficult to find (*vide* Appendix).

This is my humble tribute to the Nikko shrines. The brief sketch which I have given shows what a wonderful power of

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organisation for the preparation of this gigantic work, was possessed by those who supervised the building of the temples at Nikko, the result of which are the present artistic relics in Nikko, which are the everlasting mementoes of the power and wealth of the earlier Tokugawa Shōguns.

APPENDIX.

The buildings included in this article are limited to the main part of the present Nikko temples, exclusive of the Taiyuin temples, the large stone *torii* erected in the main entrance, and the two big bells and numerous *tōrō* (lanterns) made either of bronze or of stone.

According to the record, the *torii* at the main entrance was erected by Matsudaira Chikusen no Komi, the powerful Daimyō of Kiushiu, and ancestor of the present Marquis of Kuroda, vice-president of the house of nobles in Japan. The height of the pillars is 26 feet, and the circumference 12 feet, while the top beam is 42 feet long and 4 feet broad. It is difficult to say how they brought such huge stones so far away from Kiushiu, but it may be possible that they took stones from the neighbouring quarries and built the *torii* on the same spot where it now stands. Nevertheless, considering the difficulties of communication at that time, we can easily imagine what gigantic efforts they must have made in bringing up such bulky and heavy materials. It was a labour, no doubt, much harder than that of bringing up huge guns of seventeen tons to the 203-metre hills in Port Arthur.

There are also two big bells, which have been placed in the Nikko temples, the one presented by the Korean king, with an inscription in Chinese by the Korean grand master of ceremony, Li-Shok. The other, which is protected by an artistic building, a kind of tower, was made afterwards, viz. in the third year of Mangi, 1660. It has been recast three times since, viz. in the eighth year of Ayne (120 years afterwards), in the seventh year of Bunsei (forty-six years after the first re-casting), and, lastly, in the seventh year of Tempo (eight years afterwards). As to several hundreds of bronze and stone lanterns (*tōrō*), they were presented by divers Daimyō, after the completion of the first and third Shōgun's shrines, in token of respect to the memories of the past Shōguns.

Some doubt was expressed earlier in this paper about the non-reward of the first commissioner, Matsudaira Masatsuna. According to information based upon other records, and which have been kindly supplied by Prince Tokugawa from Tōkyo, it appears that the honorific name Matsudaira was bestowed upon him, his original family name

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being Okôji, he being one of Iyeyasu's retainers who distinguished himself in the famous battle of Sekigahara.

After peace was established, he was one of the trusted ministers of the Tokugawa Shōgun.

When Shōgun Iyeyasu died, he escorted his remains to Kunōzan, Suruga, where they were temporarily buried. It was he who planted the cryptomerias all along the road from Utsunomiya to Nikko (3 *ri* = about 8 miles), and it was he who escorted again the Shōgun's remains from Kunōzan to Nikko, where they were removed. For this he was rewarded in the second year of Kanyei (the year following the commencement of the Nikko temple-building) by the increase of his estate to the extent of 22,100 *koku* of rice per annum. In the eighteenth year of Kanyei, he superintended the erection of a stone tower in the Nikko shrine, and for that service he received from the Shōgun the famous sword of Ichimonji.

This seems to have been the reason why he was not mentioned in the document cited in the article, while his colleague Akimoto's reward only was mentioned.

As to Akimoto, whose reward was stated to be 40,000 *koku*, it appears by the latter record that his revenue, at the time mentioned in the article, was 15,000 *koku* of rice, but it was increased by 3000 *koku* for service rendered in the Nikko work, so as to make the total of his income 18,000 *koku*. Forty thousand *koku* which were stated to have been awarded to him, were only on the paper or certificates bestowed upon him by the Shōgun.

The author takes this opportunity to express his sense of gratitude to Prince Tokugawa for having so kindly furnished him with the above information, based upon his family records.

In England, when the foundation of a church or any important building is to be laid, a certain inscription, containing the names of those connected with the work and the date of its foundation, is buried underneath. A similar ceremony existed and still exists in Japan. There are no documents concerning the first building of the Nikko temples, but the author possesses copies of those used in the subsequent repairs.

In Japan, when the framework of the roof is finished, a tablet with the same kind of inscription is placed on a prominent part of the roof, and a certain solemn ceremony is performed.

According to the copies relating to the Nikko temples' ceremony, the formula has invariably been as follows :—

At the top of the tablet a cross, under which a Buddhist prayer in Chinese is inscribed; on the right, under it, the name of the Shōgun in whose reign the work is done, and on the left side, that of the high priest, invariably an imperial prince, are written. Under them come the chief commissioners' names; after them, sub-commissioners, numbering generally four to six; then follow the names of superintendents

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of matting, of architecture, and of construction; at the end the name of the chief builder.

This tablet, instead of being buried under the foundation, is deposited afterwards and kept in the temple as a historical record. The Nikko temples' Buddhistic inscription on the tablet was invariably as follows, in Chinese character :—

聖主天中天
迦陵頻伽聲
哀愍衆生者
我等今敬禮

Professor Tokakuou has been kind enough to give the meaning of this inscription, which is a sacred prayer. The translation in English may be as follows :—

"O God, our Lord, God of Gods! Hark! Sweet musical song of Kola-Vinka ('heavenly birds,' *Sanscrit*). Oh! Thou that hast pity and Mercy on all men. To Thee we now bow, Thee we adore with reverence."

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Different Crafts who took Part in the Nikko Temple Building Works.

Kiōto metal-casting craft.	京都御鑄物師
Kiōto artisans.	京都御職人
Namto (Nara) Buddha-image makers.	南都佛具師
Kasuga carpenters (Shinto-temple builders).	春日大工
Weavers' craft.	御織殿
Buddha-image makers.	佛師
Painters.	御繪師
Buddha designers.	御佛繪師
Bamboo-blind makers (Missu-shi).	御簾師
Religious-book binders (Kio-shi).	御經師
Sculptors and carvers.	御彫物師鑄師
Goldsmiths.	金細工後藤四郎兵衛
Silversmiths.	銀細工吉岡伊豫
Cardmakers' Association.	御糸會所ノ者
Workers of inlaid gold and silver.	御蒔繪師
Gilders.	御箔師
Lacquer-makers.	御塗師
Lacquer-polishers.	御塗師磨方
Vermilion-makers' guild.	朱坐
Mat-makers.	御畳方
Plasterers.	御左官
Copper-workers.	御赤銅方
Bronze-workers.	御唐銅方
Roof-makers.	御家根方
Paperhangers.	壁紙方
Master carpenters.	大工棟梁
Masters of other crafts.	諸職人棟梁
Wood-cutters and	木伐
Stonemasons.	石切
Superior coolies (Kobayato).	小隼
Inferior coolies (Kokufu).	國夫
Local carpenters.	國大工
Attendants at peasant barracks.	百姓小屋割符共其他壬生烏山ノ者

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DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank Mr. Okoshi for his most interesting address. Mr. Okoshi has the reputation of being able to construct a line of defence, and he will be able, I think, to do so now in regard to any questions which he will be asked to answer. If any one would like to ask questions, will he please do so now?

I should like to tell you something concerning these celebrated mountains. This Nikko mountain, where the temple we have just heard of stands, is at the foot of another mountain, about nine miles farther off and about one hundred feet higher. This mountain was explored and opened up by the Buddhist priests thirteen hundred years before the present era. The Buddhists were very active and their activity took the form of public works: sometimes they dammed up mountain streams in order to supply water for irrigation, and opened places in forests for hunting-places, and made paths. At this period Nikko was a complete wilderness, and they explored it as Dr. Livingstone explored Central Africa in the nineteenth century. I once visited a small poverty-stricken place at the foot of this mountain, where there is a small shrine (temple) containing a basket and stick, and with these poor implements the first priest explored the two Nikkos. In this basket were carried articles of food. The explorer tried the ascent many times without success, but the eleventh time he surmounted every difficulty, and succeeded in climbing the mountain to that lake where the British Legation have a small summer-house at present. This is a most lovely spot, covered with rhododendrons and other shrubs. The air is so pure that people live here for their health. This priest lived there until his death, and this shrine is preserved by the villagers to hold his relics as most sacred. One thousand years after the discovery of this mountain a priest in Tokyō took the remains of a great statesman to be buried at the top of this mountain.

Mr. CHAS. HOLME (*Chairman of Council, J.S.*): I should like to say a word in reference to this admirable paper of Mr. Okoshi on the building of the temples at Nikko. To those who have not been to Nikko it is interesting to picture the environments of these temples. I was there in the springtime, and the river near Nikko was full of lilies, and the hills around were covered with pink azaleas which grow wild, and the effect was something delightful.

Rev. H. M. EYTON-JONES, M.J.S.: It is some years since I visited Nikko, and I remember how one's mind travelled back to historical times, and one thought of the long trains of pilgrims and the picturesque caravans. Suddenly the blood froze in my veins, for there appeared on the scene two natives wearing bowler hats and carrying Gladstone

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bags. Would it were possible for the Government to pass an ordinance forbidding such a desecration of the place.

Mr. HARDING SMITH (*Member of Council, J.S.*) moved a very hearty Vote of Thanks to the Lecturer.

Mr. HUGH STANNUS, M.J.S.: I have very great pleasure in seconding this vote. I am sure we may congratulate ourselves on hearing a Japanese who has so thoroughly mastered the intricacies of the British tongue. While he was speaking of the admirable manner in which the work of building those temples was organised, my mind went back to the building of Solomon's temple. There was to some extent the same organisation, the same national effort, and the same self-denial. It appears to me that there are three things which stand out clearly in the paper which we have listened to—first, the splendid organisation of which we have seen the fruits in another art within the last two years; one sees that in peace, as in war, the Japanese are splendid organisers —secondly, they provided for the labourers a provision of horses; and last, but not least, what was so admirably in character with the chivalry of the Japanese—a provision for those who were ill. There was nothing of that in the building of Solomon's temple. We may congratulate this country on the wonderful national self-denial which enabled that temple to be built—a self-denial which is not yet dead, and we trust never will be.

The Vote of Thanks to the Lecturer was carried unanimously.

Mr. CHAS. HOLME moved that a Vote of Thanks be given to His Excellency Viscount Hayashi for his kindness in taking the Chair that evening. He was always foremost in good works in this country, and their thanks were due to him for presiding.

This was carried with applause. The proceedings then terminated.

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THE

EIGHTY-FOURTH ORDINARY MEETING,

(SECOND OF THE FIFTEENTH SESSION,)

DECEMBER 13TH, 1905.

[*Held in the Hall at 20, Hanover Square, London.*]

The Right Hon. Lord STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL (*Vice-President, J.S.*) took the Chair at 8.30 P.M., when a Paper on "JAPANESE PATRIOTISM" was read by Mr. ALFRED STEAD, M.J.S.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the meeting, said that it afforded him very great pleasure to introduce Mr. Stead. Mr. Stead had had the advantage over a great many of those that were present in having been to the beautiful and interesting country of Japan, and the subject on which he was to address them was synonymous with its name and the Japanese. Mr. Stead's father was also well known, having been through Russia.

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JAPANESE PATRIOTISM.

By ALFRED STEAD, M.J.S.

A SPIRIT of fervent patriotism has always been one of the most highly prized treasures of the Japanese nation. In Japan patriotism is the corner stone of the national existence, it is the flame illuminating every heart from palace to farmer's hut, and providing the motive power for all national action.

It is by no means my intention to compare the national efficiency of Japan with that of other nations; my object is simply to give examples from various sides of national life in that country which demonstrate the advantageous effect of a *universal* and practical patriotism. Whether a nation which invariably places the State before the individual is superior to one in which the individual takes precedence of the State, it is not my intention to discuss, but certainly the causes which have enabled that obscure country of some forty years ago to become one of the first powers of the world to-day are worthy of every consideration. It is of value to deal with those causes, with that living thread which has bound together in closest union the whole national policy of that realm, and make tangible the working of its methods which have resulted in such proficiency. This thread is to be found in the earnest, thinking, and eminently practical patriotism of the people of Japan, for the love of the Japanese for their country is a real, active force, which is shown in every action and which colours all the national development. Ask a Japanese whether he would be prepared to sacrifice himself and his career for his country's good, and without hesitation he will answer in the affirmative. It does not need consideration, it is instinctive in every Japanese, for to the Japanese, patriotism is part of their life, not, as with us, a thing apart. The Japanese patriotism, with its resulting pride of country, demands national efficiency in every department of

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the nation, and since this demand is backed by the whole and united force of the entire population, national efficiency is no mere formula, empty save of theories. National efficiency can never be achieved without national solidarity. Where every citizen, however humble, is determined, not only to be efficient for his country's sake, but to sacrifice himself if necessary to secure that national efficiency, and where no one Atlas is left to bear up the skies, but every man, woman, and child is ready and proud to share the task, it is not to be wondered at that remarkable results are achieved.

I confess frankly to an intense admiration and a feeling almost of awe at the sight of this magnificent national force, moving, in nearly perfect harmony, towards the definite end of the nation's welfare. To my mind it is difficult to place any limit upon the future of such a thinking and educated power. For the first time a nation animated by it takes its place in the front rank of the world's powers, and in so doing establishes new standards for the measurement of national affairs.

Self-sacrifice for the good of the State, without any hope for self-advancement, is the dominant note of the people. Baron Kaneko Kentaro expresses the opinion that the Japanese are a little different from the Western people in regard to their respect for the past, for they adore the past and the history of their ancestors much more than Occidental people do. Keenly and profoundly as they look toward their future and their prosperity—the future of their family and their nation—they cling still more keenly and more delicately to their past—the tradition of their forefathers and their nation. They always look ahead in search for something higher than their present condition for their descendants. Their present welfare and happiness is nothing to them when compared with an illustrious past and a great future for their family and their nation.

Thus looking forward to their future, they constantly strive to mark out "the grand policy for a century to come." This is a rather high-sounding phrase, but when we examine their history we always find it underlying their national movements —social, religious, and political—because the Japanese from time immemorial have shown the peculiar characteristic of marking out what they will do for the future. In order to establish this grand policy, they always study the problem with

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a far-reaching foresight. This trend of mind is the characteristic of the race. When they contemplate a great problem for national affairs they never think of themselves, but always look forward through the labyrinths of the future to find out the surest way to attain their ultimate aim and goal. According to Japanese notions, compared to this successful policy for the future, the present welfare and happiness of themselves dwindles into nothingness. In Japan there is no mere chance collection of individuals speaking the same language, the Japanese nation is a living and sentient reality, throbbing with all the life and vigour of the millions of human beings within the island shores, and directed in one common direction. In Japan there exists no distinction between the individual and the State—whoever attacks the State attacks each and every Japanese subject. The individual interest always gives way to the national. The Japanese recognise to the full the *duties* of patriotism as well as the rights and advantages of citizenship.

Undoubtedly the fact that Japan has never known the foot of the invader, and has stood unconquered through the ages, has had much to do with the development of her national feeling. There is practically no admixture of race, certainly none similar to that resulting from the invasions of the Anglo-Saxons or the Normans into Great Britain. The Japanese have been a race apart, and draw much stimulus and glory from that self-sufficiency and pureness of blood. Then, again, the practice of ancestor-worship, which is universal, gives to every individual a pride of descent, an interest in the past of his country unknown elsewhere. Dr. Nitobe says, "Our patriotism is fed by two streams of sentiment, namely, that of personal love to the monarch, and of our common love for the soil which gave us birth and provides us with hearth and home. Nay, there is another source from which our patriotism is fed: it is that the land guards in its bosom the bones of our fathers."

"Loyalty and patriotism," says Count Okuma, "always go together in this country. They are inseparable: the one cannot exist without the other. . . . Such patriotism is the more extraordinary, for in the absolute isolation which we enjoyed until fifty years ago it was scarcely to be expected that this sentiment would be fostered and cultivated. For in a state of isolation, patriotism, as a rule, loses its meaning. Fortunately

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for Japan, we have always had the sense of loyalty, and with it the essence of patriotism and national development. . . . Mutual love between the ruler and the people has been, is still, and will be in the future, one of the most important causes in bringing about the development and prosperity of the nation."

In Japan the Emperor is the centre of the nation, the sun of the Japanese universe, and the keystone of the national arch. As a leading Japanese literary man and newspaper editor, Mr. Tokutomi, once said: "Our country is our idol, and patriotism our first doctrine. From the Emperor downwards the vast majority have no other religion."

Japan has never known schism and division in time of crisis. Even during the feudal times, with constant internecine struggles, it needed but a national peril to consolidate the whole nation around the Emperor. "Why," it may be asked, "did so national a people wish ever to adopt the civilisation of the West?" The Japanese never wished, nor do they wish now, to replace their own civilisation by Western ideas. They adopted many of the ideas of the West in order to enable Japan to remain Japanese and not the playground of all foreigners. Exclusion and resistance alike had failed, and the intense patriotic nationalism of the Japanese, which taught them that they must meet the foreigners on an equality, led them to take this step. It was an affirmation of nationalism, *not* a negation, and in it the Japanese scored their greatest success as a nation. The old fundamental ideas remain as a rock upon which is builded the house of modern Japan. Being a nation in reality, and not merely a collection of individuals, Japan has caught up, in forty odd years, the start of centuries possessed by the Western world. Japanese subjects are the elements that make up the Japanese Empire, and this sentiment is held to-day as much as it ever was hundreds of years ago. Its effects may be seen in the granting to the people of Japan, by the free will of the Emperor, since the Restoration, of the Constitution according full private and public liberty. It must not be overlooked that these concessions, these limitations of the powers of the Emperor, were not forced from the sovereign by wars or rebellions, but were the natural outcome of the relations between governing and governed.

The Constitution is replete with proof of the dominance of

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the national feeling, both in the minds of the Emperor and of his people.

Thousands of years of existence as a national unit has developed the patriotism and the loyalty of the Japanese to the present pitch. Everything else falls before this guiding motive —*Bushido* is but the handmaid of patriotism and loyalty, *Shinto* is its outward expression along religious lines, and unless the patriotism and loyalty of the Japanese are understood, the nation will ever remain a closed book. Under the influence of this pervading force the Japanese nation becomes as a unit at the first sign of danger to the existence or well-being of the State.

Where has this practical patriotism, this intense national solidarity, led Japan, and what proofs are there that such national impulse is superior to the isolated action of several millions of people? The events of 1904 and 1905 are sufficient demonstration of the value of being a nation. The war with Russia has demonstrated, beyond the powers of argument, the fallacy of the artificial barriers between races and between continents. No longer can the white races of Europe sit above the salt while the nations of Asia sit below. Japan, a brown race, a nation of Asia, has demonstrated her right to sit above the salt, and as she has done so by the force of arms, Western civilisation acknowledges her right. She is an example of the fact that a nation does not become great because of the colour of its population or because of its geographical position, but because of the power within it. The importance of this destruction of one of the world's most treasured fallacies, upon which the whole superstructure of more than one great state has been raised, cannot be over-estimated. But it must not be forgotten, and herein may lie the danger, that it is not because Japan *is* an Asiatic country, or an Asiatic race, that she has become what she has. It is due to a far more worthy reason than either of these: it is because of the unceasing labour, the unwearying effort of the Japanese people to make Japan great and themselves worthy of a great Japan. Unless the people of a nation—the *people*, mind you, not a class—are prepared to do this, they have no hope of permanent greatness. If Japan's triumph demonstrates one thing more than any other, it is the absolute necessity for national efficiency, achieved by the

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unanimous effort of all the people. Japan teaches the world the lesson that thoroughness and efficiency, broad-mindedness, and a readiness to learn are possessions which far outweigh any artificial superiorities raised up by an arrogant cluster of differing nations as a standard whereby they may judge others.

Such is but *one* result of Japanese national solidarity, and the Japanese do not exercise their national impulses save after due thought and along the most practical lines, for regulated patriotism is a force, unregulated it would be chaos.

"With regard to matters of national defence, a single day's neglect may involve a century's regret." In this short sentence the Emperor of Japan sums up the national policy and feeling of his country. By national defences in Japan, however, is not meant the mere naval and military bulwarks with which European nations have been content to fortify themselves, and which, in their point of view, constitutes the only interpretation of national defence. In Japan the term has a much wider, and, it must be confessed, a much truer meaning; it is taken to include the preservation to the country of everything that might be threatened by foreign influences. The safeguarding of Japanese trade by an efficient Consular service, or of Japanese maritime enterprise by a navigation bounty, is just as much a part of the national defences as the prevention of invasion by a foreign foe.

Patriotism alone is an immense national force, both because of its universal character and because of its practical nature; but when it is allied with loyalty to the Emperor and religious veneration, it becomes almost omnipotent in mundane affairs. The country they love and the Emperor they revere have both existed when the ancestors of the present generation loved and revered the ancestors of their ruler, and the influence and the spirits of the ancestors will always be an enormous factor in maintaining the close union between patriotism and loyalty.

The result of this feeling of religious patriotism has been that there is no weak link in the national chain. The military authorities can count with certainty on the bravery and devotion of the armies on the field of battle; the central Government can lay aside all care as to any disaffection or disloyalty at home.

Naturally there are, and have been, differences among the various sections of the Japanese nation, but they are ineffective

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when exposed to the binding force of patriotism. The nation is not rent by schisms and divisions, but is always unanimous on essentials, though they may differ on details. All the leaders are inspired by the same moral ideas, by the same fervent aspirations for the national well-being. What is true of the nation at large is true also of the political element which under the constitution assists in the guiding of the national destinies. Matters of vital importance are never made the sport of party politics; matters of foreign policy are not made the chance playthings of changing governments. The foreign policy is a stable thing, continuous and far-reaching, and does not change with the administration. The ministers of the army and the navy continue. There has been a very serious discussion as to the advisability of continuing the foreign minister from one cabinet to another, and though this has not yet been done, foreign policy is already a matter quite outside party influence or wrangling; and matters domestic are not mingled or allowed to influence national affairs.

Marquis Ito, Japan's greatest statesman, has never ceased from impressing on his countrymen the supreme necessity of unity.

"In view of the duties it owes to the State," he says, "a political party ought to make its primary object to devote its whole energies to the public weal. In order to improve and infuse life and vigour into the administrative machinery of the country, so as to enable it to keep up with the general progress of the nation, it is necessary that administrative officials should be recruited, under a system of definite qualifications, from among capable men of proper attainments and experience, irrespective of whether they belong to a political party or *not*. It is absolutely necessary that caution should be taken to avoid falling into the fatal mistake of giving official posts to men of doubtful qualifications, simply because they belong to a particular political party. In considering the questions affecting the interests of local or other corporate bodies, the decision must always be guided by considerations of the general good of the public, and of the relative importance of these questions. In no case should the support of a political party be given for the promotion of any partial interests, in response to considerations of local connections or under the corrupt influences of interested persons.

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"If a political party aims, as it should aim, at being a guide to the people, it must first commence with maintaining strict discipline and order in its own ranks, and, above all, with shaping its own conduct with an absolute and sincere devotion to the public interest of the country. . . .

"They should further try to avoid all unnecessary friction amongst themselves, or in their dealings with others, all such friction being likely to endanger the social fabric of the country. Above all they must always place the national interests before the transient interests of a political party."

War produces a strain upon a nation greater than any other single cause, and it is then that weakness in the fabric discloses itself. The war with China showed Japan as a united nation, and the war with Russia has more than ever demonstrated the value of this policy advocated by Marquis Ito. The political parties coalesced and worked loyally for the good of the country. Vast sums of money were voted, with no opposition to the amount demanded even when the means of raising them were criticised. It is reassuring, however, to find that while there is perfect co-operation and support of the Government in time of national danger, full liberty of action is reserved by the political parties for more opportune times.

This sentiment of patriotism might not be so fundamental a part of the Japanese character were it not developed in every Japanese from earliest infancy, and now finds its greatest support in the educational system. In nothing is the patriotic spirit of the Japanese shown to such advantage as in this intense desire for education, which permeates the whole nation, without distinction of class. It has been recognised that no nation can be truly and permanently great without a serious educational foundation, that ignorance is but as shifting sand whereon to build a house, and it is a national duty to be educated. Therefore the Japanese have acquired an educational system second to none in the world. The moral instruction taught from the Emperor's speech on education is intensely patriotic—and the teachers and pupils alike realise the value of the school in making for progress. Physical training is made much of, in order that the future physical condition of the Japanese race may be efficient and able to support the nation in the ever-increasing physical struggle for existence. It

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is this which has led to the prohibition by law of tobacco smoking under the age of twenty, and the imposition of penalties, not alone upon the boy, but upon the tobacco dealer and the parent. Desire to avoid stunted physique in future generations is the patriotic motive in such restrictive legislation.

The spirit in which the education of Japan is conducted may be seen from the following announcement for a teachers' convention at Kyōto. It runs:—

"The sole aim of education is to establish a foundation for the social system by means of the development of the abundance of our national wealth on the one hand, and the expansion of the national power abroad. The spirit of patriotism which has been nourished for 2,500 years has at last found an opportunity to exhibit itself, and now there is a chance for the educators to stimulate true nationalism, and nourish the national power as a grateful act of appreciation of this glorious period."

First among a series of resolutions adopted by the public school teachers of Tōkyo in convention in 1895 was that, "The national idea and patriotism should be stimulated among the pupils of the public schools." The educational idea of the Japanese strives first to develop the character of the children and to insure their development into good citizens, it being thought far better to make members of the State sound in body and clear in intelligence than to produce mere intellectuality. Moral training, physical exercise, reading, writing, and such courses, are to be found in every school. In agricultural districts the practical science of agriculture will be, and is already largely taught to both girls and boys. In industrial districts, handicrafts and knowledge likely to be useful to the pupil in his business of earning a livelihood are inculcated.

A truer perspective of the Japanese educational system can be obtained when one remembers that while education had always formed from the very earliest time an object of solicitation on the part of the rulers and the people, the modern system of compulsory education was inaugurated only a year or two after the adoption of such a system in England. Since its introduction, fully ninety per cent. of the children of school age attend schools, and sixty per cent. of the graduates continue their studies for the full eight years of the elementary schools, though only four years' attendance is compulsory.

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There are several notable points in the Japanese educational system which are specially worthy of study. They all demonstrate the effect of the national instinct, since they have for object the improvement of the nation rather than merely the individual. The individual is educated, is taken care of as a member of the nation, and his progress is regarded as advancing the cause of the whole people. From the very lowest grades of schools up, there is a thoroughness in the pursuit of this ideal, which is remarkable.

The school system of Japan contains no religious education, as the term is generally understood. In fact, it is the most valuable example of the possibility of teaching moral conduct and right living without dogma. The Japanese recognise the value of religious, not necessarily Christian, teaching, but say that it should be taught elsewhere than in the schools. They take the ground that, since religion to be of value must be the result of conviction, it is impossible that children of the tender age of six could reason out the mysteries and difficulties of religious dogmas. Confusion in the mind of the child is bound to result, and the development of the intelligence suffers by introduction of abstract and incomprehensible subtleties. That a child in the primary schools can understand, for instance, the idea of the atonement for sin clearly enough to do him good, and not merely to mystify him, is incomprehensible to the Japanese mind. In as far as religious education is made the vehicle of moral instruction, and for the development of character, the Japanese quite recognise its value; but they do not complicate these moral teachings, which may be made intelligible to the child by abstract and sectarian dogmas and creeds. Moral teaching forms a part of the school curriculum, and some hours each week are devoted solely to this purpose for each class. "The essential point of moral teaching should be to nourish and develop the virtuous instincts of the children, and to lead them to the actual practice of morality," runs an ordinance relating to education.

Another very valuable object lesson in the inculcation of those higher virtues necessary for the development of a higher patriotism is afforded by the Japanese prison system. This is designed not merely to punish but to educate. Work is compulsory, and thus those who have never worked before acquire

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the habit, while those who have a trade can continue its pursuit, and do not therefore come out of prison unfitted for it through lack of practice. The prisons are cheerful, hygienic, and the discipline is never brutal. The warders are educated and specially trained, and enter fully into the idea of the educative value of the prison system. Corporal punishment is as unknown here as in the public schools, and the disciplinary punishments are confined to solitary confinement in light or dark cells. In the dark cells, however, there is no unnecessary cruelty, and a bell is provided by which the inmate, in case of need, can attract the attention of a warder.

In most cases the object of imposing obligatory labour upon prisoners, except in some cases of condemnation without labour, is to give them careful training in useful labour, and to encourage diligence, so that on their discharge from the prison at the end of their term of imprisonment they will find less difficulty in obtaining employment. The Government has, therefore, provided various kinds of useful work which is not injurious to health.

Intellectual as well as mechanical subjects are also encouraged. Teachers of foreign languages are provided, and reading, writing, arithmetic, history, and geography are taught.

When the prisoner's term is completed, special arrangements are made for enabling him to re-enter the outside world under favourable conditions. The net result of the Japanese prison system is that imprisonment exercises a reformatory influence, and is an educational force in the development of the convicted. It is even considered probable that the released convict will be better than when he entered prison, because the aim of the whole idea of Japanese education, based as it is upon patriotism, is to turn out competent and healthy citizens, mindful of their duties to themselves, their neighbours, to the nation, and to the Emperor.

In the local government of the country, also, patriotism is taught and the duties of citizenship encouraged.

The citizens of Japanese cities, towns, or villages, are *obliged* to fill any honorary office to which they may be elected or appointed. In this way there is no possibility of the best citizens keeping out of politics, a state of things which is so very prejudicial in America. The punishment of declining

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public or official service is not a mere fine, such as, for instance, that imposed under certain conditions at the election of sheriffs in the City of London—it is a very serious matter indeed. Those who decline to serve are "subjected to suspension of citizenship for from three to six years, together with an additional levy, during the same period, of from one-eighth to one-fourth more of their ordinary share of contribution to the city expenditure."

The recent war with Russia naturally afforded many examples of the practical patriotism of Japan.

The calls for the reserve were responded to without any defection, the men left their work cheerfully and went to the depôts, encouraged by the approval of their families. The spirit of self-sacrifice was universal, the highest and lowest classes alike shouldered their national responsibilities, imperial princes fought in the field with their countrymen of all classes. When a soldier or sailor was sent to the front, his family was taken care of by his neighbours or by his village community. Landlords made it a rule not to collect the rent from his family, and doctors volunteered to treat the sick in his family without charge.

The absence of the thousands of reservists did not materially affect the progress of national industries, for the women of Japan have always taken a great share in the work of the nation, and the war only caused them to show greater energy. Women give to Japan one of the great national strengths in that they enable the agriculture and the industry of the country to proceed normally, even when hundreds of thousands of men are called from the reserve to the colours. The women working in the field or at the loom are regarded in Japan as attaining just as completely to the heroic standard of all true patriots, as do the soldier or sailor.

The soldiers and sailors of Japan have given example after example of patriotism and devotion to their country. The example of Commander Hirose, who lost his life in the heroic attempt to block the entrance to Port Arthur, will live always in the annals of Japan, and affords a brilliant lesson in the history of the world. That there is no thoughtless determination to die, however, such as is demonstrated by uneducated fanatics, is shown by the address given by Lieutenant-Commander Yuasa to his men before leading an attack. It contains the

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essence of the practical devotion and patriotism of the Japanese soldiers and sailors. He said—

"Let every man set aside all thought of making a name for himself, but let us all work together for the attainment of our object. . . . It is a mistaken idea of valour to court death unnecessarily. Death is not our object, but *success*, and we die in vain if we do not attain success."

Self-sacrifice for the good of the State, not hope for self-advancement, is the dominant note of the nation. This sentiment has been fostered by every ethical conviction of the race, especially by *Bushido* and Ancestor worship. *Bushido*, besides establishing a delicate code of honour, had one point in its teaching for which no sacrifice was held too dear, no life too precious. This was the duty of loyalty, which was the keystone of the arch of feudal virtues. As *Bushido* holds that the interests of the family and of its members are one and the same, so it should be with the entire nation. There should be no interests separately for the subjects or the rulers, all should work for the whole, and merge his or her personal interests in those of the whole nation. Thus has *Bushido* made of the Japanese the most patriotic race in the world.

When a ruler is actuated by a lofty sense of the functions of his office as powers entrusted to him from above, there remains nothing higher for his subjects than to support him with all the obedience compatible with their duties to their own consciences. The governing and the governed were alike taught to serve a higher end, and to that end to sacrifice themselves. If an emperor proved not worthy of his high post, he would resign the imperial power into the hands of another and more capable member of the Imperial House—all this without civil war, without any compulsion, save the inner promptings of his own heart.

Ancestor worship accentuates this point of loyalty, and is an influence still more far-reaching and fundamental.

It may be said without exaggeration that every Japanese man, every Japanese woman, and every Japanese child is an ancestor worshipper. This applies to the Christian convert equally with the Buddhist devotee.

"In Europe and America," says Mr. Hozumi, the leading Japanese authority on the subject, "ancestor worship has long ceased to exist, even if it was ever practised. In Japan, where

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at the present time a constitutional government is established, where codes of laws, modelled upon those of Western countries, are in operation—where, in short, almost every art of civilisation has taken firm root, the worshipping of deceased ancestors still obtains and still exercises a powerful influence over the laws and customs of the people. The practice dates back to the earliest days, and has survived through hundreds of generations in spite of the many political and social revolutions which have taken place since the foundation of the empire."

"The reigning Emperor is the living representative of the imperial ancestors, and contains in himself all the virtues and all the powers of his ancestors. It is difficult to imagine people more loyal, if loyalty consists in the outward form of loyal actions, for the people of Japan do reverence every day to the representative of the first imperial ancestor, and loyalty and patriotism are indissolubly united. The very fact of this continuous reverence cannot fail to set a seal upon the loyalty of its subjects, and mark it out from that of other people."

And this has been going on for over 2500 years! There has been no break, no change of direction. If thoughts have power, as they must have, even though not understood or recognised, what power must not these thousands of years' thoughts of veneration have generated. Thus the veneration reaches the present day with accumulative force impossible almost of comprehension, and creates in the Japanese people a patriotic and loyal force of inconceivable magnitude.

The effect upon the living of their duties to the dead and of their duties to future generations is enormous. All through their life the Japanese have the responsibility not only of living up to the reputation of their own ancestors, but of being good ancestors in their turn. In Japan death begins responsibilities on this earth rather than diminishing and ending them. The action of the Japanese Emperor in ennobling worthy subjects or granting them other marks of honour on their death-bed or after death intensifies this idea.

When a young student goes to Europe to pursue his studies, when a soldier goes on a campaign, when an official is sent abroad by the Government, or when a merchant undertakes a long journey on business, he invariably visits the graves of his ancestors in order to take leave of them. And who can over-

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estimate the effect on the man, be he young or old, as he goes out into the world, of this last solemn visit to the ancestors of his house, who watch him with unseen eyes and to whom he has duties plain and well defined?

With all this intensity of belief in worship of ancestors, one of the striking features of Japan is the fact that there exists absolute religious freedom and the fullest tolerance among religions. Not only is there no State Church, but from the national standpoint there is an absolute equality where the various religions are concerned. The Japanese consider that a State Church does not tend towards the advancement or the well-being of the nation. The idea is too narrow for a people which finds in every religion, in every creed, some elements of the same fundamental truth. From each they draw something which helps them towards that right living which they regard as one of the essential duties of the patriotic individual, of the community and of the nation.

To sum up, then, in religious matters generally, the Western World may learn from Japan the dangers of a State Church, the elimination of politics from religion, tolerance, and a desire to seek out and help on the best in all creeds, and an insistence on practical and philosophical religion.

Without doubt, however, the inspiration of Nature has had as great an effect upon this national development of patriotism as any system of beliefs handed down by tradition and studied in books. For it would be difficult to exaggerate the influence of climate and country on character, and in no country in the world, at the present stage of civilisation, does a whole people live so close to nature and spend so much time in communing with it. The Japanese people love nature, and they have a love and sense of beauty about all things founded upon this closeness to nature. It would be idle to argue that centuries of intelligent study and admiration of the beauties of nature could fail to affect the character of the people. In the opportunity which has been given to the race to mould itself, free from outside influences or infusion of foreign blood, Japan is unique. The fact that the Japanese eyelids have had time to develop a special thickness to meet the necessity of protecting the eyes of the babies, strapped on the backs of their mothers or nurses; that the stature of the race has been affected by the centuries of sitting rather than of

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standing; that the fingers of the Japanese have reached a degree of suppleness unknown in the West—all these show how great changes have been wrought in physical things in Japanese history. The more sensitive fabric of the mind, of the soul, could not fail to have been deeply influenced by the constant contemplation of nature which has been going on for centuries. It is indispensable to realise this influence upon the national force, which is apparent everywhere. This love of nature and all that nature gives so bountifully has developed the Japanese along lines of true simplicity and naturalness. Artificiality is not respected and revered as in other countries. Japanese art is simple, with the simplicity of perfection; the Japanese national characteristic may be said to be a true, a simple love of nature. To them nature means, or, rather, has meant in the past, Japan, and undoubtedly this fact has to be taken into consideration in judging of Japanese patriotism.

So much for the nature of patriotism, its principal causes, and the methods by which patriotism is taught and preserved.

But what has this patriotism of the Japanese done in the way of national improvement, and in what ways has it shown that it is a practical force and not a theoretical fancy? Time will only allow of a few instances being given from the many which present themselves to the student of Japanese progress.

The Restoration found Japan practically an agricultural country—there were few, if any, industries of importance. Even the taxes were paid in rice, and agriculturists were ranked far higher than merchants. History showed the Japanese, however, that it was very difficult to maintain a high standard of national greatness when the revenue of the land and the prosperity of the people depended absolutely upon the fall of rain or the hours of sunshine. For a small state such a condition is possible, although not enviable. For a state such as the Japanese were determined to make Japan, such a foundation was altogether too unstable. Besides this the rapid increase of the population, together with the increased luxury of living, showed the Japanese in a very unmistakable fashion that some adjustment was imperative. The soil of Japan is cultivated intensively, and although it was possible to augment to a certain extent the production, that would only result in a postponement of the settlement of the problem. And so the patriotic Japanese, in

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their intense love for their country and pride in its future, took the bull by the horns and proceeded to build up an industrial fabric to supplement the agricultural one.

In England is to be seen the object lesson which taught Japan both what to copy and what to avoid. In England the development of industries came almost insensibly, on no organised plan, and with the industrial growth came agricultural decay. England became an industrial power of hitherto unheard-of importance, but she ceased to be in any degree self-supporting—the produce of the world has to feed her millions. The Japanese realised that the decay of agriculture was by no means the inevitable corollary of industrial growth—in fact, properly organised, the industries should assist agriculture and *vice versâ*.

Besides the necessity, there was an additional reason to be found in the knowledge that industrial growth would add enormously to the power of the nation, not only in the Far East, but among European nations. It was recognised that industrial and commercial development was a much more sure guarantee of greatness than military power, and that the conquest of markets was more efficacious than the destruction of armies and navies. A difficult thing this, for the Restoration did not only find Japan an agricultural country, but also under a feudal system. Such a system, wherever it exists, elevates the military classes and abases the merchant and trader.

Now, in Japan, there is only one gauge, the extent of benefit which any individual, in whatever profession he may find himself, can bestow upon his country and his nation.

The people of Japan plunged into the national and patriotic duty of developing the industries so successfully that to-day Japan stands as the greatest industrial nation of Asia. And the Japanese take the same pride in this as they used to take in their military achievements, and as they do in everything which advances the national progress, for Japan seeks the substance not the shadow of empire.

One of the results of this policy of encouraging industries was to add enormously to Japan's financial strength in the late war, since, of the enormous sums spent in *matériel de guerre*, at least seventy-five per cent. remained in the country, and, enriching the people, provided them with money available for reinvestment in the public bonds. Without the industrial backbone so

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thoroughly developed, Japan's resources would have been far less efficiently organised. Thus patriotism in this instance brought an immediate and substantial reward.

It must not be forgotten that Japan had to create her industrial system without much of that assistance from protective tariffs which has enabled other countries at first to permit the infant industries to thrive in an artificial atmosphere. The foreign treaties prevented, and still prevent, Japan from imposing high duties upon imports at will, and thus she has lost this advantage, so valuable in a young and developing industrial nation.

Figures may be manipulated to give better showings than they should, but if any further proof of Japan's industrial development were needed it is to be found in the fears beginning to be shown by other industrial nations in her danger as a competitor. Thus we may conclude that the Japanese people have succeeded in establishing a sound industrial basis to their country, and have provided, within a remarkably few years, a solution for the problem of rapidly increasing population.

To the Japanese it seemed the most natural and logical corollary to the growth of their industrial development, that they should also provide the merchant vessels to carry the goods. Warned by the example of the United States, they avoided the mistake made by the Americans, of developing their industries and export trade without having any mercantile marine available. In this way an enormous amount of American money left, and still goes out of the country, in the shape of freight charges to foreign-owned vessels. Nothing shows the Japanese thoroughness to better advantage than the way in which they prepared their merchant service preparatory to acquiring the goods to load the vessels with. Visitors to Japan at the end of the nineteenth century must have seen the number of Japanese vessels lying in the harbours waiting for employment. Then it seemed to be a waste and a miscalculation, but time has shown that it was only foresight. Slowly, year by year, the proportion of the Japanese foreign trade carried by Japanese vessels grows larger, and a corresponding proportion of money stays in the country.

In the pursuance of the efficient development of this side of national life, the Japanese have acquired a merchant marine which ranks ninth in the world, a conclusive proof of the value

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both of the idea actuating them and of their method of accomplishing it.

And the Japanese thoroughness did not stop at the mere creation of the fleet. It developed the means of building the vessels, so that yet again Japanese capital might remain in Japanese hands rather than pass into those of the shipbuilders of the Clyde or the Thames. Whereas formerly the whole supply of new vessels of the great Japanese shipping companies was bought abroad, it is now doubtful whether there will be any so purchased. The shipbuilding yards of Japan have been developed up to the point where they can supply the needs of the Japanese merchants, and henceforth Japanese ships will be built in Japanese yards. This proficiency is not confined to the merchant vessels, for the same is true of the Government navy yards, where first-class warships are being constructed where only a short half-century ago, sampans and small junks were the only craft thought of.

Japan's progress along the path to commercial greatness has been rapid, but for good reasons it has been even and well maintained, and such as to demonstrate that her methods are sound. They may well be proud of their work, although they will not slacken their efforts, since they know that, in the words of a Japanese statesman, "they have not yet reached the full measure of their ambition, but they look forward hopefully to the time when Japan will be the emporium of the Orient, firmly bound to her neighbours, east and west, by the strong ties of mutual interest."

In developing the country into an industrial manufacturing nation, both in order to set the national finances upon a stable basis and that Japan might play the great *rôle* which is her destiny among the nations of the world, agriculture was not neglected. Rather it was nurtured the more, forming as it does a valuable national asset. It would have been illogical for Japan if, while developing the great ideal of Japan for the Japanese, she had neglected her agriculture and ceased to be able to feed her own population. The national idea demanded that, however important the manufactures became, the food supply of the country should be able to cope with the increasing population. Not only could the agricultural output not go backward, it had to move forward with the nation's development.

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The cultivated area of Japan is comparatively small, and owing to the natural conditions of the islands, large increase is not possible. Therefore the Japanese turned their attention to the improvement of farming methods, to improved irrigation and fertilisation in order to secure an increased output. One great advantage which Japan possesses, besides a beneficent climate, is the fact that the farms are worked in small sections by the small farmers and their families. This enables greater care to be paid to the crops, though, of course, it has also the disadvantage of the impossibility of using labour-saving machinery. Sixty per cent. of the whole population is employed in farming pursuits, and the farms being worked largely by manual labour, there is every opportunity for national impulse to inspire individual effort.

"Imagine," says one writer, "all the tillable acres of Japan as merged into one field. The centre perimeter of such a field could be skirted by a man in an automobile, travelling fifty miles an hour, in the period of eleven hours!" Small wonder, then, that the agriculturists of Japan are entitled to rank amongst the best patriots of that patriotic people! In one of the Emperor's poems occurs a verse in which he declares the tiller of his field in Japan is achieving for his nation equal glory with the soldier on the battlefield. Japanese patriotism, aided by the latest scientific methods, is a force which is able even to overcome all obstacles and produce on 19,000 square miles food for 45,000,000. It is in the spreading of the scientific methods and the latest methods of agriculture that the Japanese Government has been so successful, the farmers never lacking in enthusiasm. In the old times, the farmers had as their duty the feeding of the military classes, now they have the larger duty of feeding an entire nation, which has increased by over ten million persons since the Restoration.

If the methods employed by the Government appear to our eyes as rather too paternal, it must be remembered, first, that the relations between the governing classes and the governed have always been rather those of a family than those of master and servant; and second, that since the Government is the representative of the people, and in part at least chosen by them, government action is really only the action of the executive head of the whole nation.

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The House of Representatives, the elected representatives of the people, passed a law outlining a reform, a change in the very appearance of Japan, which was welcomed by the country. This was nothing less than a law for the adjustment of farm lands, and providing for the change of farm lots so as to allow of the more regular arrangement of holdings. The irregular boundaries and pathways between the various properties were to be simplified, and in this way the amount of land under cultivation was to be increased. The small holdings of a farmer would often be scattered about in various parts of a locality, and the boundaries, picturesque in their irregularity, wasted an enormous amount of space. How revolutionary was the measure to change this may be gathered more clearly from imagining a law being proposed in England to do away with the beautiful hedges, which are so distinctive an element of the landscape, and substitute split rail or wire fences in order to increase the arable space.

In a country where patriotism and universal sacrifice for the welfare of the fatherland play the predominant part, it is inevitable that the question of national defence should be treated in a competent manner. Theoretically the army system of Japan is based upon conscription, but truly this is a case where the voice is the voice of voluntary service although the hands be the hands of conscription. From the age of seventeen until that of forty, all male subjects are placed on the military rolls, and are liable for service. Concerning this Marquis Ito writes:—

"Japanese subjects are of the elements that make up the Japanese Empire. They are to protect the existence, the independence, and the glory of the country. . . . Every male adult in the whole country shall be compelled, without distinction of class or family, to fulfil, in accordance with the provisions of law, his duty of serving in the army, that he may be incited to valour while his body undergoes physical training, and that in this way the martial spirit of the country shall be maintained and secured from decline."

All subjects must also pay taxes, these being considered as "the contributive share of each subject to the public expenditure of the State. It is neither benevolence paid in response to exaction, nor a remuneration for certain favours which have been received upon a mutual understanding."

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Conscription is, in the minds of the British and Americans, indissolubly bound up with constraint, an impression strengthened by the disinclination of the conscripts on the European continent to serve their country in the ranks. In Japan there is none of that side of conscription. The Japanese look upon it as a privilege to be allowed to receive such training as will enable them to adequately defend Japan in all emergencies. Japanese conscription is rather a means of the selection of the fittest than a system to compel citizens to serve. Every Japanese knows it to be his duty as well as a highly prized privilege to serve his time in the army or the navy. There are none of the hundred and one drawbacks which too often mar the system of compulsory service. In Japan the duty of service would be felt more compulsory were there no conscription law and no regulations for calling up year by year those available for military service. And in this fact lies one of the greatest of all lessons for countries owning free institutions, and anxious to maintain their right of independent progress.

There is a duty which every citizen owes to his state which should lead him to desire the chance of fitting himself to defend his native soil. In conscription such as this there is no disgrace —no ignominy. Were the British Empire filled by such a recognition of the duty and privilege of citizenship, there would be small need of polemic discussions as to whether the country could or could not be invaded—there would be no doubt as to the security of the heart of the Empire. There is no doubt that it is the duty of all who see into the future clearsightedly, to urge the development of this patriotic spirit, which lies latent in the breast of every citizen. Who would doubt that, in the case of invasion, all the manhood of the country would spring to arms to repel the menace. But surely the offer of amateur, untrained devotion is a much less thing than the readiness to become to the highest degree efficient whenever the call to service may come. Physically, the benefit would be enormous; morally, it would be no less, and the nation would reach its true level of complete self-confidence and strength. It is no alien idea which is suggested by the example of Japan, it is an instinct which requires to be called forth and developed along lines of practical patriotism. For in Japan may be seen the ideal form of national service, a nation in arms, and educated

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to make the best use of those arms. It is not necessary to dwell upon technical details, intelligible only to the military or naval student, these follow of themselves provided the central idea, the national impulse, be right. When Great Britain shall have reached the point that every citizen feels it his duty and privilege to be trained in arms for the defence of the motherland, and is educated to understand the real significance of this service, the British nation will become a greater, saner, and more efficient people.

The national army of Japan is an educated force, and each year sees the percentage of illiteracy sinking lower. National pride demands education, and thus the national privilege of conscription feels the benefit of a unanimous progressive force. It is this national feeling which enables the army and the navy to work so harmoniously together, like parts of an intricate machine, though each doing its own special work. Where there is but one supreme duty to be accomplished, there can be no jealousy. To work in any other way save in the most perfect harmony would be to be false to the nation and untrue to the patriotism which fills every Japanese. The defence of Japan is the work of the nation, and it matters not whether the individual atom works for his country in the field or on the water—the same driving force is at the back of him and there can be no retrogressions. Japan's idea of the best means to secure the defence of the country is no new thing, but the growth of hundreds of years.

Japan's military and naval greatness is the result of the nation's determination to be fitted to defend the country and to be able to secure its best interests. It is no sentiment of part of the people only, it is the whole nation undertaking a task which affects every unit of it, and of which each one is proud to bear his or her share. The only traditions which exist in Japan, in the army and navy, are the finest and most potent ones which teach love of country and loyalty to the Emperor—there is no fetish-worship of buttons and shoulder-straps.

Universal service by all the people, systematised by conscription, is the foundation, with education, of Japan's army and navy.

Time will not allow me to touch upon the other practical results achieved by the patriotism of Japan, but I cannot

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forbear from mentioning briefly the wonderful Japanese Red Cross Society.

If there is one lesson which the Japanese have to teach more worthy of study than any other, it is the system by means of which they have turned into a practical channel the enthusiasm and the sentimental patriotic fervour of an entire people. In no single thing in Japan is there a more wonderful example of what a unanimous patriotism is capable of accomplishing than in the Red Cross Society. Similar societies in England and other countries of the West linger on in desultory fashion during peace time, to spring into attempted efficiency in time of war. But these are but pale and colourless shadows of the real ideal, as found in Japan. If anything further were needed to dispel the altogether erroneous belief held by so many, that the Red Cross Society is an essentially Christian idea, typified by its emblem, it is this perfection of the society to be found in a country where the organisation is not founded on any religious or humanitarian motives, save that fundamental one of all things Japanese, intense and practical patriotism. How paltry seem the efforts of our Red Cross Societies, who point with pride to ten or twenty or even thirty thousand members, when compared with the million members of the Japanese society. One in every forty-five of the population is a member, and has either pledged himself or herself to pay annually for ten years some six shillings to the funds of the Red Cross Society, or else has paid down fifty shillings on entrance. Nor does this payment, this earnest of the members' practical interest, do aught else save render the individual eligible for new and onerous duties towards the society. It must be remembered, also, that the time in which this enormous membership has been accumulated is only two or three decades.

A society founded and organised like the Red Cross of Japan upon the sole idea of "Pay your debt to your country by helping its soldiers," can render far more effective aid than a society founded solely upon the idea of humanity to wounded enemies. It is, consequently, this adoption without hesitation of the idea expressed in the words "The country's debt to, and the relief of soldiers," that gives the Japanese Society of the Red Cross its individual and special character, and renders it capable of developing with such prodigious rapidity.

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The Red Cross Society not only teaches its members their duty towards the country, but it trains them to perform many of their duties to one another in a way which no other organisation has equalled or even approached. It also rallies the whole nation around the imperial family, and gives one person in forty-five of the people a personal tie with the head of the State. At present such support is not needed by the Emperor of Japan, who occupies a position in the hearts of his subjects unrivalled and unchanging. But the Red Cross Society is an insurance against change in the future, and as such it has a great national value. The magnitude of the power afforded in controlling the public opinion for peace or for war is almost unimaginable. Even a very much smaller society would prove of great value as a steadying force to the nation in moments of crisis. Thus, besides the direct object for which it was founded, the Red Cross Society of Japan has a great national mission, and every new member enrolled does far more than merely swell the financial resources of the organisation. Every new member is a fresh tie in the patriotic solidarity of Japan, and it is not hard to imagine that the *rôle* played in the future by this vast national enterprise will rank above any other force moulding the destiny of the country.

Step by step the national development has led the Japanese nation to a point where it is quite justifiable for them to look with pride upon the progress their practical patriotism has enabled them to accomplish. Not only has Japan become one of the eight great powers of the world, but she has successfully demonstrated that she is the one great power which dominates Eastern Asia. The wonderful force lying in Japan's hands is not even yet properly realised, and there are unknown potentialities of which the other nations have not even a suspicion. But before very long, this nation, which is able to think out problems as thoroughly as any Oriental, and act upon the result of the thought as energetically as any Western race, will receive its full recognition in every branch of national life. The force which is possessed by a people efficient in every department of national life, and possessing the unique impulse of a sentient, practical patriotism and an undivided public opinion, is so unknown, so enormous, as to defy its measurement by any standards possessed by the Western world.

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The CHAIRMAN: We shall be glad to hear any remarks on the subject of the paper from the audience.

Mr. R. G. WEBSTER (*Visitor*): May I, as one who has been in Japan, venture to congratulate the lecturer on his very eloquent paper. The great fact in Japan is patriotism. Would that the patriotism of Japan was equalled in this country. It used to be so in the past, and if we were in difficulties and danger, we should rise again to the occasion and be as patriotic as we were in the wars of Napoleon. But if I might venture, I should like to see the *Bushido* precepts studied here. They are the moral institutions of the Japanese race. They include benevolence to all, even to enemies; they also inculcate veracity and honour, and give to Japan a great unanimity under any conditions. It is thus a very important principle this *Bushido*. All things can be forgiven to a Japanese who believes in this principle but theft and flight before an enemy. Mr. Stead has told us how this principle worked out during the recent war, and how well the Red Cross Society flourishes in Japan compared with what we do for it in this country. He also indicated the fact that Japan had the conscription, but the people are practically all volunteers. I asked a diplomatic officer during the war how they raised their sailors. He told me that they had more volunteers than they wanted.

Mr. T. R. HASLAM, M.J.S.: I should like to add my meed of thanks to the lecturer for his address. Time was when it was considered in this country, a fact at which one silently smiled, that Japan was making progress in Western civilisation. A few years later we had the advantage of hearing of the immense progress which had been made in Western culture. We need only look back for a period of fifteen or twenty years and compare Japan as it was then with what it is now. In England we may take a lesson from Japan. Does it not behove us now, before it is too late, to adopt their example? I am not prepared to discuss the question of *Bushidoism* or *Shintoism*. We have a very ancient religion and ancient experience, and surely we might, at least, have been in the position of saying we are as good in respect to our Government institutions and our efficiency. We think too much of our rights and too little of our duties. The time is coming when the individual must help the State. Let us adopt the methods of Japan for the benefit of all.

Mr. BATCHELOR, M.J.S.: I think the great point which marks the admirable address we have heard this evening is, that we have had a proof that a theory can be carried into actual life. Certainly no one here is able to deny that every statement made to-night is true. Can we find one single deficiency in this people? The ideal is made visible. I am afraid that we shall not in this Western land do anything

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of the kind. How can we aspire to be equal to a nation which lives at the fountain of life? The Japanese have everything that a man can think and pray and hope for. We in England should have a little more chrysanthemum and rather less football.

Mr. CHEDOMILLE MIJATOVICH (*Visitor*): I have listened with very great interest to the very suggestive address. How much of interest it is to all other nations, for, after all, Mr. Stead is an Englishman, and the other gentlemen who spoke are English. You are friends and allies with the Japanese. I have the honour to belong to a modern group of nations: I am a Slav, and I hope our race will be a great nation in the future and learn wisdom from the patriotism of Japan. Being a Slav I have felt so much inspired this evening by the eloquent address of Mr. Stead that I rise to make a confession: I can assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that in all the Slav nations the triumphs of Japanese patriotism have been greeted with admiration. We should have been gladder if the Russian arms had been successful, but as they were not we considered the matter philosophically. I believe God's providence teaches by painful methods, and I hope this lesson will not be lost upon us. May I express the hope that even the Russian people will come out successfully from the great crisis through which they are now passing, and that we shall be the first to recognise the wonderful qualities of the Japanese people, and try to be friends with that nation?

Mr. J. ERNEST H. PLATT, M.J.S.: I should like to emphasise one recent instance of the difference between the behaviour of the English and the Japanese. During the Boer War every sum of money voted in Parliament was subject to much criticism, question, and opposition.

Mr. F. J. MATHESON, M.J.S.: I should like to join my tribute to the eloquently expressed and inspiring paper we have just heard. Its value, I venture to say, is in the lesson it has for England. I want, if I may, to suggest to Mr. Stead that he should give us his opinion on what is the best step to take to infuse a soul into this people. We have had, at least in theory, for two thousand years a religion which contains the elements of Shintoism. Our education emphasises class distinctions. Class distinction at present would make conscription odious. Japan has been accused of worshipping her ancestors and honouring them for what their descendants do. I think that is better than honouring the descendants for what their ancestors have done.

The CHAIRMAN: It is a treat to have listened to the address we have had from Mr. Stead this evening, and to the other gentlemen who have addressed us with regard to that lecture. Japan shows what can be done by a nation at one with itself. It shows them coming out of their

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insularity, and within sixty years making such great progress and such a place for themselves that they are now the paramount power in the East, and with their assistance and that of England we may rest assured that peace will be with us. We do not always agree in political matters, but we all agree that it is really fortunate that we have a Minister who has brought the English and Japanese together in a treaty. That is not a question of party politics but of high politics. We have heard so much that is interesting and instructive from our friend, that we all look upon him as if we had known him long ago. I am sure it is your desire that a Vote of Thanks should be conveyed to Mr. Stead, expressing our gratitude that he has given us so much this evening. We are past the time that our meetings conclude, and I will ask you to declare in the usual way your grateful thanks for his kindness in coming here this evening and giving us such an admirable address.

This was carried with applause.

Mr. Chas. Holme (*Chairman, J.S.*): Before departing, may I ask you to pass a Vote of Thanks to Lord Strathcona for his kindness in coming here and taking the Chair this evening.

The Lecturer: I thank you very much for having listened to so long a paper so attentively, and I thank you for the Vote of Thanks which you have been so good as to give me. In my paper I was very careful not to take a controversial line in suggesting how we might apply the lessons from Japan. One gentleman said we should be patriotic if we were at war, but we do not want a sentiment called forth by war, we want everyday patriotism in the dull days and when there is no exciting news in the newspapers. If we all determine to be good patriots, that will be a first step forward.

The proceedings then terminated.

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THE

EIGHTY-FIFTH ORDINARY MEETING,

(THIRD OF THE FIFTEENTH SESSION,)

JANUARY 10TH, 1906.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, London.*]

The Chair was taken at 8.30 P.M. by COUNT MUTSU, *M.J.S.*, when a Paper on "THE RED CROSS SOCIETY IN JAPAN" was read by Miss ETHEL MCCAUL, M.J.S.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the meeting, said: Ladies and Gentlemen, my excuses for taking the Chair this evening are the unavoidable absence of Lord Redesdale, who was to have presided over the meeting to-night, and my wish to serve the Society at all times to the best of my ability; and the inducements which have prompted me to accept the honour assigned to me by the Council of the Society have been the pleasure I feel to be amongst you once again after an absence of over twelve years, as well as the fact that we have before us to-night so able and interesting a lecturer that no great task is required of the Chair in order to assure the success of the evening.

Miss McCaul is, as I hardly need mention, a lady who went out to Japan under the highest auspices of this country in order to render us assistance during our recent troubles, and who was welcomed with a genuine sense of cordiality by the authorities and the people of our country.

I have not had the pleasure of meeting Miss McCaul in Japan, but I have heard much of her and of her associates from this country and the United States, as well as of their work, through Surgeon Baron Takagi and others, who were enthusiastic in their admiration of the

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zeal and perseverance with which these foreign angels of mercy entered upon their task and assisted their sisters of Japan in the performance of their difficult and onerous duties.

Since the outbreak of the recent war, and the successes of our armies which ensued, we have been the recipients of much goodwill and sympathy manifested by foreigners, especially by the people of this country. The bravery and patriotism of those at the front have been the theme of constant admiration, and an honoured position has been assigned to our arts of war.

However, in this appreciation of the valour and strength of our military and naval forces one is apt to forget, or at least to minimise, the value of other services which are of a peaceful nature, but which equally require patient labour and heroic self-sacrifice: such, for example, as the mission of our Red Cross Society.

I am fully aware that such organisations are not devoid of shortcomings. But I think you will agree with me when I say, that unless we possessed other institutions as capable and competent as our forces on land and sea, not only we should never have attained the position we now hold amongst the nations of the world, but also our army and navy themselves would have been unable to make so remarkable a development.

Ladies and gentlemen, I will not detain you any longer, and am now very glad to introduce to you the lecturer, who will kindly give us some information concerning a branch of our arts of peace in which we may be said to have achieved some distinction.

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THE RED CROSS SOCIETY IN JAPAN.

By ETHEL MCCAUL, M.J.S.

IN addressing this meeting I feel that the Japan Society have bestowed upon me an honour and a privilege. The debt I owe to Japan it is not in my power to repay, but I can show my deep sense of gratitude by making an earnest attempt to put before our own people some of the noble qualities hereditary to the Japanese, which qualities have brought them before the world so vividly, not only for bravery, patriotism, and skill, but for a humanity so colossal that in comparison all other nations must fall far behind.

Though my paper is on the Red Cross Society in Japan, I am going to ask you to follow me *first* in reviewing the domestic side of the women of the country, for the two subjects are so closely allied and interwoven that in my judgment they cannot be separated.

The Eastern sky is indeed glorious with the splendour of the Risen Sun; but would that light have had the same grand reflection if Japan had not taken this opportunity of showing her sterling worth, by unfurling the banner of mercy, which alone could make her coequal with Western nations? Had they neglected the prisoners, the wounded, the dying, they must ever have remained in the eyes of the world a *brave* but barbarous people. Even supposing that their death-roll had been ten times as great, and the crown of victory as sure as it is to-day, the triumph would have been of *small* value in the sight of the civilised world had they not succoured the wounded and shown such magnanimity towards their fallen enemies. *But* this display of humanity is not a new trait in the Japanese character, for the teachings of Buddhism have always fostered these lofty principles.

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On looking back through centuries, we come across many instances of their generous treatment towards the wounded. And as early as 200 A.D., when the Empress Jingo personally conducted her troops into Korea, she issued a proclamation exhorting her soldiers to show mercy to the vanquished.

But to-night time will not allow of our taking more than the briefest glance into this early history, and it is sufficient to show that the Japanese brought a spirit of mercy into their warfare which was quite unknown to the early histories of other countries. Let us therefore at once turn to the more modern times, and see how the same humane trait still survives. It was in 1877, when the western provinces were in revolt, that an organisation was formed for the purpose of caring for the sick and wounded, which afterwards became a permanent organisation, and this unostentatious beginning was the nucleus of the Society now known as the Red Cross Society in Japan. But it was not until 1902 that the Japanese actually became affiliated to the Geneva Convention. The rapidity with which the society has developed has exceeded the most sanguine expectations, at the present time having over a million members and an income of nearly a million a year. But before analysing the methods of this Red Cross Society, let us become better acquainted with the women of the country, and see how well suited they were to carry out the work lately entrusted to them; for there can be no two opinions that the *success* of all benevolent movements in every country is directly due to the part women take in them.

I venture to think that there is a great deal of ignorance in this country on the subject of the Japanese woman; therefore I shall briefly picture her past and present day life to you, so that such comments as have repeatedly been made that the Japanese woman is ignorant and indifferent may be refuted. Thus it cannot be out of place to acquaint ourselves with their mode of living, and see how earnestly she has been fitting herself through centuries for the great national crisis.

Some there are who fancy they can imagine her after seeing such plays as *The Geisha* and *The White Chrysanthemum*, but they are as far from the original as the cotton-made chrysanthemum is from the Creator's perfect blossom, with its exquisite colouring and crisp, invigorating scent.

Douglas Sladen, in his book on Japan, pictures the Japanese

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women in a most amusing manner, "carrying her baby on her back, tying her knees together to make the sit of her *kimono* more perfect, blacking her teeth after marriage to render herself less attractive, carrying in the folds of her sleeves her paper handkerchief, chopsticks, and pot of lip-salve, which is not intended to soften her lips, as kissing is not a Japanese custom." He also draws a somewhat frivolous picture of Japanese married life. "Marriage is a simple affair in Japan; it consists chiefly in making many cups of tea in a particular way, and thirty-three per cent. of Japanese marriages are said to end in divorce; but the woman generally marries again, and it goes without saying that the man does also. It is lucky for the women that they are pretty, gentle, and good, for Japan is a man's country, where women are regarded as mere conveniences. The woman of Japan talks of three obediences—she obeys her father until marriage, her husband while she is married, and her sons if left a widow."

But Douglas Sladen finishes with the remark, "It must always be remembered I speak of the poor Japanese."

But in spite of our many advantages, such as the *Times* lending library, vast numbers of our countrywomen seem only to know this amusing, but scarcely accurate picture. That the women must naturally, therefore, appear at a discount to the foreigner under these circumstances is inevitable. Few people who have visited their country really know anything of Japanese family life.

Now, the woman of Japan as I saw her is a vastly different person, and I may say, without any exaggeration, a very perfect type of womanhood—one we should do well to emulate.

But let us look back once more, far back to hundreds of years ago, when we as a nation were scarcely considering civilisation. She appeared then as an empress, a poetess, artist, and a woman of letters.

In the ninth century, Japanese literature would have fared badly if the women had not devoted themselves to its study, as the culture of the Chinese language was so much in vogue that the men had no time to give to native works. From this fact alone we must dismiss from our minds the common or ordinary picture of the Eastern woman shrouded in veils, shut up in scented harems, or tottering on deformed and mutilated feet,

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useless and undeveloped and a hindrance to all national advance. This the Japanese woman has never been; she has played her part nobly, devotedly, but unostentatiously through centuries, and the fruit of this quiet devotion is now being reaped by the nation.

We must, however, still pause before we look at the Japanese woman of to-day; we have seen that she has never been the enslaved or barbarous woman which, but for the kindly Western enlightenment of about thirty years ago, every one imagined her to be. The most positive denial to this is shown by her sterling national qualities, such as honour, self-control, determination, patriotism, and true charity.

The Japanese mother has been for centuries instilling into her children the importance of cultivating these rich qualities, not only for their personal good, but as a duty each child owes to the country.

That it must have been extremely galling and repugnant to these reserved people to throw open their country to the foreigner is evident, and in sacrificing their prejudices they have without doubt shown extreme large-mindedness and gained many national advantages. Yet all great reforms have their drawbacks, and I doubt whether the women will be improved except in such matters as education. Will the Japanese woman emerge from this metamorphosis a nobler woman? To-day she stands before us as an obedient wife, a perfect mother, and an almost fanatical patriot, with a love so unselfish that no sacrifice is too great for her country. Shall we see this tender, perfectly mannered, and merry little woman improved by coming in contact with the woman of Europe? This question must be left for the future to decide. There is very little perceptible difference between the position of the Japanese woman of to-day and that of the Western woman. Class distinction exists much on the same lines as in our own country—the aristocracy, the middle class, the masses.

Of course the example of the Empress is predominant. There is not an institution or society furthering the welfare of her women with which she is not connected. It was at her instigation that the Peeresses School was founded. Nursing, which has reached a far higher standard than in our own country, owes its success to her wise supervision. The Empress

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visits the hospital in person, and gives away her own gifts to the sufferers. To you this will not sound very remarkable, for does not our own Queen constantly do so? But in Japan it is a great innovation, for until the last few years the public were never allowed to look upon the face of the Emperor or Empress. The austere and mythical traditions which have surrounded the throne for centuries have been firmly but gently put aside by this courageous and far-seeing Empress. And this unselfish example has done more to unite the nation than can yet be realised. The peeress is now working side by side, for the Red Cross Society and many other benevolent institutions, with the humbler classes, and the outcome of this war has been the means of bringing about an understanding between the women which will make it impossible for the reserved peeress ever to retire again into her somewhat isolated and narrow life.

We have heard a great deal lately about the simple life. I think the Japanese middle-class woman's mode of living gives us a good illustration of it. Nature is her model, and her idea of perfection is to bring nature and its teachings into the humblest home duty. Her children are named after flowers. A beautiful sunset or a fine view are a necessity to her happiness, and she will travel miles to view one. Flowers form a part of her religion, and are bought in memory of the dead. The gardens that surround her are in the most perfect harmony. Her dress carries out her ideas—always of the softest shades imaginable, for no well-born Japanese woman ever puts on those flaring, crude colours we see over here. Nor does she deck her head with chrysanthemums: her hair, which is extremely abundant, is always beautifully dressed, and in it may be seen a gold pin of ancient workmanship. The *obi* is often costly and fastened with a clasp of extreme simplicity, always representing some ideal, and its value is in its antiquity.

Her home is of the simplest, but a perfect picture of art. The servants, who are all kneeling at the entrance to receive her, wear no cap or badge of servitude; indeed, it is an honour to be a servant, and many are poor relations of their mistress. There is no ostentation about the house, although a well-to-do Japanese has many valuable treasures in her *godown*, or storeroom. There may be one beautiful vase with a few choice blossoms in it standing on a slightly raised shelf, and that suffices for all the

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bric-à-brac we think necessary to have in our drawing-room. This vase is replaced now and again by some other work of art. Silver and metals are never highly polished; it would be considered showy and out of place. Her children form the mainspring of her life, and in them she is ever re-kindling the glorious spirit of patriotism which has been handed down from generation to generation. This spirit could not have burnt so fiercely to-day if the women had not also undertaken their share of keeping the national honour untarnished. Yet it is true she takes a subordinate position, and does not drink her bowl of tea before her husband without first asking his permission. Even those who are receiving Western education are still content to obey the unwritten laws of etiquette between man and wife.

The Poor.—Without doubt the Japanese are poor as a nation, and in viewing the lives of the lower classes, much poverty and a certain amount of squalor might, without any reflection of discredit, be expected from the masses. Are we not one of the richest countries of the world, yet dare we congratulate ourselves on the condition of our lower classes? The predominant characteristics of the working woman of Japan are cleanliness, economy, sobriety, and cheerfulness, and have we anything better to teach her by Western civilisation? Let us look at her in her diminutive wood and paper house. Here we see, as in the upper classes, her innate refinement and love of nature. The whole side of the house will be open to the air; there is a frugality about the place which amounts to positive want in our eyes; there is no furniture as we understand it; but she will contentedly take her simple meal of beautifully cooked rice out of the cleanest of wooden bowls, perfectly satisfied so long as she can have charcoal to cook this rice, and boiling water for her tea and bath. The poorer the Japanese the more often he bathes. It is no uncommon thing for the poor to take three hot baths a day; and I never saw, during the whole of my stay in Japan, a woman with untidy hair. Although her dress was threadbare and thin, there was not that degraded look of the European of a similar class. Many of you will think I could scarcely have had time to observe the poor minutely, but I visited all the large hospitals in their various cities, and watched with deepest interest the out-patients. I felt positively envious of the condition of their poor compared to our own.

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Think of the smell of the unwashed of a London crowd, or an out-patient department of many of our hospitals.

I do not mean to say the Japanese women are faultless; they have, of course, their criminal classes, but here again there is not the same squalor and brutal degradation that one so often sees amongst European women prisoners. In visiting the prisons, I noticed the women who were awaiting their trials (which often means some months) were as neat and their hair as nicely dressed as they would be in their own homes, and this speaks well for them, as they have to wear their own clothes before they are sentenced. If asked to give a reason for the superiority of the Japanese lower classes, I should say it was due to the innate refinement and pride of the race, and the same answer could account for their exquisite manners. Their courtesy to each other is very real and picturesque; if by chance they collide in a crowded street, no matter how great their hurry, they instantly draw up and bow elaborately to the ground several times. To watch a large Japanese crowd is a great delight and a lesson; there is no hustling or horseplay, and even could one understand what they are saying to each other, the most sensitive would not be disgusted by even good-natured bad language; there is no swearing—the Japanese have no bad words in their vocabulary.

Nothing would please me better than to see a Japanese settlement in some part of London, in spite of the outcry against aliens. We have little to learn from the German or Russian, but we should have in this colony an example of economy, with cleanliness and comfort, of which our working classes have no conception. They would see that people could live and thrive without meat, take baths without catching cold, and run about with bare feet or wear cheap straw sandals or wooden pattens without producing any deleterious effect on their health. Their patriotism amounts to a religion, and the tiniest child is taught it, not only by precept but by example; and during the war, every woman willingly made great sacrifices. Of necessity these sacrifices fell doubly hard upon the working classes. I do not think it would be an exaggeration to say that throughout the latter part of the war, the women undertook the entire labour of the agricultural districts, leaving the men free to fight, and this same spirit was shown throughout every industry. So we see

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that the women individually recognise their national responsibilities, and undertake to foster and teach the true spirit of patriotism during the first years of a child's life.

Now, as regards the education of the Japanese, of course the upper classes have for the last twenty years been receiving the very best. In 1871, a number of well-born Japanese women were so determined to have a sound education that they went to America; the Marchioness Oyama, wife of General Oyama, was one of these. She is the moving spirit of the advanced party on education for women. The Peeresses School, which I mentioned before, is described by Count Suyematsu in his book, "The Risen Sun," as a school for women under the direct auspices of the Empress; it is under the control of the Minister of the Imperial Household, and not the Minister of Education. It is called the Peeresses School, and naturally the women belonging to the noble families have the right of first entrance, though the door is not shut against the daughters of other respectable families. Here a kindergarten is attached, but Count Suyematsu does not mention the excellent wisdom of these girls being taught household management and the rudiments of nursing. Callisthenics and outdoor games are greatly encouraged in the hope of improving freedom of gait and developing their physique, and fencing has been, from the earliest date, a pastime. In Tōkyo there is an academy for music. There are also numbers of private schools, and a university for women with over one thousand students. In the middle-class schools, the greatest attention is paid to household management, which is divided into two divisions, one relating to pure household management, the other to family education. There are also many institutions where women may study medicine, art, technical industries, commerce, and agriculture. In Tōkyo altogether there are seventy-three schools and institutions for women; these include midwifery and nursing. The same system of education is dotted all over the country. Education is compulsory, and between the age of six and fourteen every child must attend school.

Now let us take into consideration how the national qualities of the Japanese come to the aid of their women in nursing. Obedience, unselfishness, and self-restraint are natural to her, so the remainder of the nurse's training becomes easy. Her

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THE MARCHIONESS OYAMA.

THE MARCHIONESS NALÉSHIMA,

PRESIDENT LADIES' VOLUNTEER NURSING ASSOCIATION.

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soft voice, gentle manner, and delicate touch make her a born nurse. I have watched her in the operating theatres in the large city hospitals, in the maternity wards handling the newly born baby, and by the side of the dying Russian prisoners, and in each picture she stands out a perfect type of nurse. The training of Japanese nurses has only taken place within the last twenty years, and it has now reached a higher standard than in England. Private nursing is legislated for, and a nurse wishing to take up this part of the work has to take out a licence in whatever town she wishes to work in. Private hospitals are built for the purpose, and have their paying out-patient departments. Of course the Japanese had a splendid opportunity in starting their nursing. They studied our English methods, and Florence Nightingale is a household word, but where we have left off they have advanced. This advance is so great, that I see we are being left far behind in the matter of organisation. I feel I need make no apology for having asked you to follow me in reviewing the domestic side of the Japanese woman's training and character, as it must enable you to comprehend on what fertile ground the seed of the Red Cross Society fell.

Rather more than nineteen hundred years ago, a white canopy was stretched across the heavens, and as the strife of nations rose and fell, a mighty skein of tangled flax was dyed in human blood. And for each life laid down, the messenger of death drew out a thread, and, passing by the canopy, embroidered a tiny stitch, marking each human sacrifice. As time rolled on, the sighs and prayers of helpless women drew down the canopy to earth, and on it was revealed a scarlet cross, pointing north, south, east, and west, and from this symbol women learnt that they too had a noble duty to perform.

To-night we are only concerned with the arm of the cross directed towards the East. It is easy to understand how it appealed to the Japanese people to place their noblest sentiments into the keeping of a society which would not lose sight of their ideal, but would safeguard and utilise it for the welfare of the country. Let us once for all dismiss from our minds that there is any religious motive in this society's work. Why, then, has it taken such a hold on the nation? Because the people clearly recognised that there was only one way in which they could pay the enormous debt owing to the sailor and the soldier, and

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generally mitigate the terrors of warfare. Then, again, it was an Imperial wish, and as such it could not be questioned. The Red Cross Society in Japan is, without doubt, far in advance of all other Red Cross Societies. With much wisdom and foresight it was placed immediately under Government, so that in time of peace a million members, with their hospitals, hospital-ships, doctors, nurses, stretcher-bearers, and lay-workers, are equipped and fully trained according to army regulations; therefore, in times of war or national calamity, they are available at a few hours' notice.

Red Cross Society.—In Tōkyo are the headquarters of the society, and from thence the local branches receive all instructions. A very practical step was taken early in the movement by appointing all governors and mayors to be representatives of the society, authorising them to hold meetings and generally develop the work. Accordingly, members were recruited from every social grade and from every corner of the empire. And in each district a local branch was established, the members subscribing yearly from six shillings to twenty pounds. But I do not intend to dwell on the actual organisation of the society; for those who wish to study carefully the splendid methods which had brought it to such perfection could not do better than read the chapter on the Red Cross Society in Mr. Stead's book, "Great Japan." Were I to enter into such matters as the general business and finance of the society—though most interesting—it would indeed be a late hour before I could conclude. No. What I am desirous of bringing home to you is the national character of the work, and the astounding way it is kept alive in time of peace, which is perhaps the hardest task such a society has to undertake. When a deep wave of feeling is sweeping across the nation, it is easy to promote all kinds of good works.

Hospitals.—But the organising genius of the Japanese perceived that to make their Red Cross Society a permanent beacon, they must make it a necessity in the daily life of the masses. And this has been done in several ways: firstly, by building numerous Red Cross hospitals throughout the country—the largest of which is at Tōkyo, with accommodation for seven hundred patients—all of which institutions in time of peace are used as free hospitals for the people, with the

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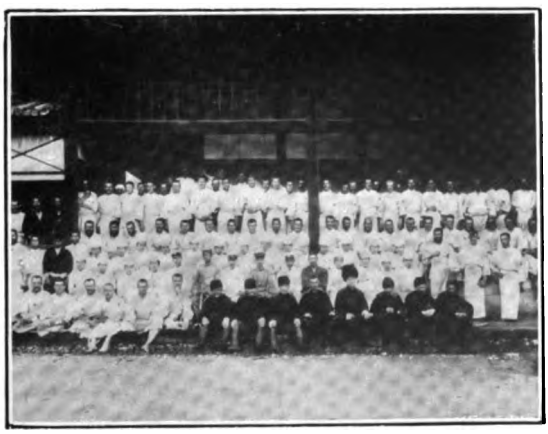
THE RED CROSS HOSPITAL.



THE RED CROSS HOSPITAL AT MATSUYAMA, SHOWING STAFF AND RUSSIAN PRISONERS.

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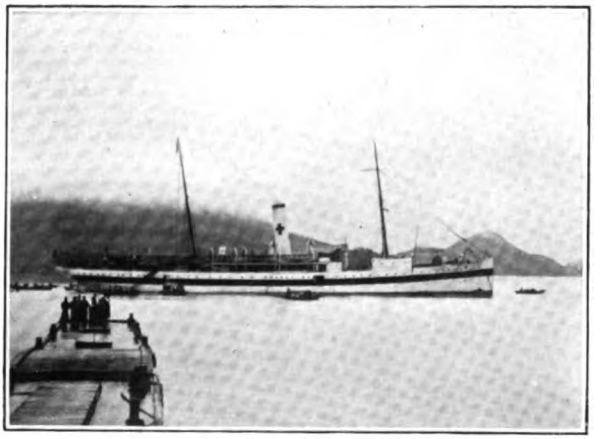
RUSSIAN WOUNDED BEING TRANSPORTED TO A HOSPITAL SHIP.



THE RED CROSS HOSPITAL SHIP.

RUSSIAN WOUNDED BEING TRANSPORTED TO A HOSPITAL SHIP.

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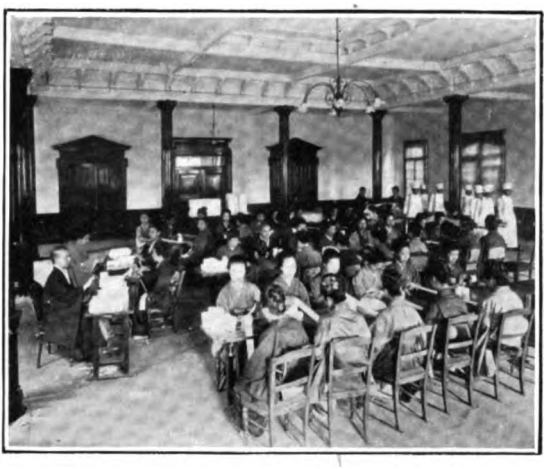

THE LADIES' VOLUNTEER NURSING ASSOCIATION AT WORK.

MISS McCAUL CROSSING TO KOREA ON A RED CROSS HOSPITAL SHIP.

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exception that in each hospital paying patients are admitted in those wards which in war time are reserved for the officers; the hospitals are therefore of little expense to the society.

Army Nurses.—Secondly, the monopoly of training the army nurse is in their hands, the War Office recognising no other training school. Added to the nurses who are in daily practice in the hospitals, they have a reserve of over three thousand nurses, by making the following conditions: that each nurse who has completed her three years' training is bound by a vow to nurse for the society for fifteen years. They are free to take up other hospital work or private nursing, they can even marry if they choose, but must report themselves at stated times to the Nursing Board.

Hospital Ships.—Thirdly, the two hospital ships which the society has built are not kept in expensive idleness, but are hired by a company as passenger steamers; they have, however, been so built and fitted up that within forty-eight hours they can be transformed again for their original purpose. And very perfect these ships are, for I had the delightful experience of crossing to Manchuria in one of them. To Japan belongs the honour of having gained the neutralisation of hospital ships, which all-important detail seems to have escaped the notice of other nations.

The hospitals, the training of the army nurse, and the hospital ships, are the three great factors employed by the society to keep the splendid cause in a practical manner before the public.

Lay Workers.—Under the head of Lay Workers we must place the "Ladies' Volunteer Nursing Association." And we shall see by this movement that the society recognised the urgent necessity of using the sentiments and energies of the women of the country if their Red Cross Society was to be a national success. Such a force has hitherto, in other countries, been allowed to drift in an aimless fashion, causing much chaos, friction, and lavish extravagance; but with Japan's characteristic thrift, these sentiments have been so guided and directed that it has enabled the society, not only to render colossal service to the country, but has been the means of crowning their work with a success which has been unparalleled in the history of the world. The Ladies' Volunteer Nursing Association is completely under the control of the Red Cross Society, although

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the business is carried on by separate committees. The Imperial Princesses are at the head of it, the Marchioness Naléshima is the president. From all grades of society the members are drawn. The members pledge themselves to attend a two years' course of lectures, and lectures are held throughout the empire; the reason of this training is to make them a reliable support in time of war, as the association undertakes the probationary part of military nursing in base hospitals. They do not supplant the trained nurse, but perform the rough work, and wait on their trained sister. At Matsujame and other places I had the privilege of seeing the system at work, where they not only rendered the greatest service, but gave moral support to the nurse by their unique position. The association is practically the factory and workroom for the Red Cross Society, which society undertakes to provide the Government with the necessary comforts for the sick and wounded; but not only were these provided, but thousands of first-aid dressings and all the bandages used throughout the war. The organisation was so perfect that there was not the slightest hitch, and the required articles were executed with the promptness and finish of a business firm.

I dare not venture to detain you longer, but in this short address I hope I have brought home to you the proud position the women of Japan hold in their Red Cross Society. If any have come to listen to wordy statistics, they will have been grievously disappointed, for I have only put before you some of the lessons to be learnt by thoughtful and prudent organisation and co-operation; it is this lack of union in *our* methods which so grievously obscures our Scarlet Cross.

O Japan! you have allowed all nations to see the purity of your soul, which is as perfect as the petals of the cherry blossom. May we, who have witnessed your life-struggle, learn some of the lofty lessons you have so humbly laid before us!

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure that we have all enjoyed the interesting and instructive lecture by Miss McCaul. It is very satisfactory to learn that while my compatriots were doing their utmost to slaughter their fellow-beings, some of them, at any rate, were also very busy in saving lives. To me it is always a puzzle how we, in this twentieth century, with a fair amount of common sense in other respects, can tolerate such an anomaly and contradiction that while we

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are fully alive to the necessity of mitigating the horrors of war, yet we are, at the same time, doing all we can to make it as deadly and appalling as possible. However, perhaps such is civilisation, so called.

At all events, I hope that when a full history of the recent war will be written, we shall find it contain ample information regarding the work of life-saving as well as death-dealing.

In the mean time, you will be pleased to hear that an important meeting—the thirteenth general meeting of the Red Cross Society—has just been held at Uyeno Park, in Tōkyo, on November 20th last, when its members and others, to the enormous number of 55,000, gathered together in the presence of Her Imperial Highness Princess Higashi-Fushimi, the representative of Her Majesty the Empress, who was unable to honour the meeting with her presence on account of illness.

Count Matsukata, the president of the society, in his speech on that occasion, informed the assembly that the number of squads sent on by the society to various stations during the war was one hundred and forty-eight. The number of persons engaged in the work reached the total of five thousand two hundred and eighty, while the expenses incurred amounted to over four million three hundred thousand yen.

The society has indeed rendered the nation a very great service, of which its one million one hundred and three thousand members can justly be proud.

Captain MACPHERSON (*visitor*): I cannot refuse to say something, having been called upon to do so, since I had the privilege of being attached to the Japanese army during the late war. Being a member of the Royal Army Medical Corps of England, I am naturally very much interested in the work of the Japanese Red Cross Society, and also in what Miss McCaul has said in her paper, and I am, furthermore, able to endorse all the points of her lecture.

I would especially like to point out to my countrymen and country-women that a national Red Cross Society is not the Army Medical Service of a country, but quite apart from it.

The Army Medical Service is a recognised branch of a country's military service, with especially enlisted men and an especially trained body of officers who undertake the work of organising and dealing with the sick and wounded in time of war. The National Red Cross Society, such as that of Japan, does important work in *supplementing* the Army Medical Service of the nation, and is prepared by definite organisation and training to place in the *home* hospitals—not *field* hospitals, but *home* hospitals—a staff of nurses and doctors who proceed with the army into the field. The National Red Cross Society also supplements the Army Medical Service by engaging in useful work the people of the country by giving them some outlet by which they can express their very natural sentiments for the sick and wounded. It has frequently

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happened in the past history of nations that the whole of the medical organisation of the army has been thrown into confusion by popular sentiment, notably of the women of the country and the wealthy idle classes. The Japanese Red Cross Society has *organised* this sentiment and made it useful. It is noteworthy that England is far behind every other civilised country in the world in respect to her Red Cross Society. The hospital ships referred to by Miss McCaul as carrying on the work of the Red Cross Society are modelled on the work of other Red Cross Societies, especially those of Austria, but the Japanese have been the first to put them to any practical use; and now France has adopted a similar scheme to that of Japan and Austria, thus showing what other nations are doing in the same direction.

In conclusion, I hope what I have said will be taken in the sense in which it is intended, namely, to draw attention to the fact of the almost entire absence of any organisation in England similar to that in Japan, and to recommend a close study of their society on behalf of the sick and wounded in time of war.

Professor LONGFORD (*Member of Council, J.S.*): I have great pleasure in expressing the warmest thanks of the Meeting for Miss McCaul's most eloquent lecture, with its excellent description of the women of Japan, and the home history and organisation of the Red Cross Society. From my many years' experience in Japan, I can well say that there has not been one word of exaggeration in what Miss McCaul has said—the Japanese woman has no equal for her gentle manners, winning grace, and for every altruistic quality; notably, too, her infinite tact is beyond description, and can only be understood by long acquaintance.

I fully agree with this and much more of Miss McCaul's lecture, but there are one or two points with which I have to find fault. The humanity of the Japanese in war has not always existed. At one time no mercy whatever was shown to their enemies when placed in their hands, and so little mercy indeed did they themselves expect when captured, that they immediately committed suicide to avoid the tortures to which they would be exposed. Humanity has been instilled into them by the principles of Buddhism and Shintoism, but with results very much on a par with our treatment of the precepts of the Bible.

I wish to impress upon the audience that it was an Englishman—an English doctor—who first set them the example of that humanity, kindness, and gentleness which, during the late war, has made them world-renowned. In fact, an excess of consideration was shown which was entirely without precedent; for not only were lives spared and the wounded treated in their hospitals, but every possible arrangement was made to enable the prisoners to communicate with their people in Russia. In every single instance, too, a list was made of every article found on each person, and efforts made to restore it to its rightful owner.

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Before passing the vote of thanks, I desire to congratulate the Society on their Chairman of this evening, not so much on Count Mutsu's own account as on that of his father, whom I knew thirty years ago, and who, together with Viscount Hayashi, may be said to have been in the van of those who advanced modern progress in Japan, and who was also among the first to learn the English language.

It was about the time that Sir Harry Parkes was British Minister to Japan, and in confirmation of what Miss McCaul has said in regard to the infinite tact characteristic of the Japanese women, that I recall a little incident which took place at a large state dinner at which the British Minister was received with great courtesy and *éclat*. I was fortunate enough to accompany Sir Harry Parkes on that occasion, and remember the details. The Japanese were at that time quite unused to foreign appliances and customs, and during dinner the chair on which Sir Harry was sitting suddenly collapsed. The hostess showed not the slightest embarrassment or confusion, merely saying, "Bring another chair."

I have detained the audience quite long enough, and conclude by expressing my very warmest thanks to Miss McCaul on behalf of myself and the Meeting generally.

Mr. Osman Edwards, M.J.S.: It gives me very great pleasure to second the resolution moved by Professor Longford. I have listened with extreme appreciation to the lecture this evening. I think that the ears of any Japanese woman present must be tingling to hear herself praised so warmly. Those who have read Mr. Douglas Sladen's book will remember that Japanese women are spoken of as a "feature" of Japan from the picturesque and artistic standpoint, their deeper and more subtle qualities as women not being touched upon. This is perhaps natural as coming from a man, but it is satisfactory to find an English lady speaking not only so enthusiastically, but with more intuition. I think that Englishwomen will blush to find that other women are so superior, though it is interesting to know that Miss McCaul has herself set the example of an Englishwoman being capable of similar virtues.

The vote of thanks was agreed to with applause, as was also one to the Chairman.

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THE

EIGHTY-SIXTH ORDINARY MEETING,

(FOURTH OF THE FIFTEENTH SESSION,)

FEBRUARY 16TH, 1906.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, London.*]

Sir LAWRENCE ALMA TADEMA, O.M., R.A., *Vice-President J.S.*, took the Chair at 8.30 P.M., when a Paper was read by Mrs. SALWEY, M.J.S., on "JAPANESE ENAMELS."

In opening the Meeting, Sir ALMA TADEMA remarked that the subject of the lecture had been very much discussed at different times, and he was sorry to say that people were not so well informed concerning it as they were of many other branches of Japanese Art. This was all the more reason why he had great pleasure in introducing Mrs. Salwey to the Meeting that evening.

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JAPANESE ENAMELS, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

By CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

SHIPPŌ, which expresses in the Japanese language (in a concrete form) the beautiful art of enamelling upon copper and other foundations, is the subject under discussion.

It is intended to treat the subject in two aspects—the ancient and the modern; also to give a slight sketch of the history, the technique, the colours employed, the method of proceeding with, and the expansion and development of, the work undertaken by the enamel artists, with a view of perfecting their efforts, from the earliest date of manufacture up to the present time.

Of all the arts of Japan, perhaps the least has been said or written, researched or translated, concerning enamel ware; yet, in a little dainty pamphlet sent to me from Nagoya, it is called, and justly called, "The finest art in the East."

The pioneers of the past were reticent in their remarks concerning an art little understood, imperfectly investigated, and, in comparison with others, seldom met with. In fact, it has been stated by a reliable authority that little or no native literature exists, or has, at any rate, yet come to light, treating the subject in an expansive manner.

Now, there are many reasons for this scarcity of information. Firstly, fine pieces of enamel work were rare even in Japan; they were, therefore, of great value. All valuable objects were jealously guarded in the *godowns* or treasure rooms of emperors and princes, or within the sacred precincts of places dedicated to religious service. Consequently they did not fall into the hands of pilgrims and strangers, for foreigners, as we know, were not permitted to invade this island empire. The specimens

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were rare, because the difficulty of bringing the work to perfection was very great, often resulting in disappointment at the very last stage of completion, or at least firing. The price of one piece embodied the loss of many. But this state of affairs had its concomitant advantage, since each successful specimen was unique, without its "tie," or its counterpart.[1] A good piece was known and recognised by its peculiarities of form, colour, application of enamels, disposal of pattern, perfection of technique, and other virtues.

When we consider the trouble necessary to be undertaken to make perfect a piece of enamel work, the number of stages it has to pass through—the entire concentration of the mind needed for the carrying through of the task, and the final uncertainty of the issue, it is indeed a wonder how any person should elect to give up so much time to the venture.

The patience needed for the preparation of the enamels, the care required in placing and fitting the ribbons of brass for the formation of the cloisons, the firing for the adhesion of the cloisons, the coping with the nature of the fluxes, and the oxides, the choice of colours, harmony of colouring, suitability of design both in the object itself, as well as its decoration,—when we bear all this in mind, we cannot prize too highly, or extol too generously, a perfect specimen, or do wrong in our value of it as "a thing of beauty and a joy for ever."

The most surprising fact of all is that the Japanese should excel above all other Eastern nations in this particular art, because Japanese art in other cases evinces such inspiration of feeling, which appears to leap like a flame from the soul of the artist, and if not seized and registered immediately, flies far beyond his power to restrain and hold captive, whereas in the case of enamel working, a modern Japanese expert tells us, "When the design is fixed upon, it is first painted on silk, considered deliberately from every point of view, and though it may be a work of great elaboration, unless that work is good it is nothing more than 'a lifeless being,' that is to say, it will never see the light or be carried into execution." This expert adds "that on one excellent design alone an artist will spend a number of years" (J. Ando, Nagoya).

Referring generally to the enrichment of art objects decorated

[1] Even vases were seldom, if ever, made in pairs.

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by means of enamels, we may truthfully say that it was known and applied in the early centuries of the world's history by peoples more ancient in origin than the Japanese. Both Egyptian and Assyrian architects made use of a form of enamel as a preservative, or for the purpose of ornamentation, against decay in the first place, and as a pleasing method of decoration in the second. Enamelled or coloured glazes were applied to sun-dried bricks used for the Assyrian palace of the ancient city of Nimrud.

Bricks thus treated were laid in rows. They were enamelled upon one side only. The colours employed were blue, black, yellow, red, and white. Over the groundwork of self colour a pattern was traced in the same composition, each brick receiving a portion of the design. Some years ago these enamels were analysed at the Museum of Practical Geology, and the colours employed showed that opaque white was produced by tin, yellow by antimoniate of lead, brown by iron, blue and green by copper. The fluxes and the glazes consisted of silicate of soda aided by lead. These bricks covered the whole wall of the palace of Nimrud and formed a mosaic work.[1]

The late Dr. Birch remarks in his "Ancient Pottery," Vol. I., "For 'celestial blue,' that lovely colour which is scarcely rivalled after thirty centuries of human experience, an oxide of copper was employed. The green was obtained by another oxide of the same metal. The red, but rarely seen, is conjectured to be protoxide of copper. Violet was obtained by an oxide of manganese; white glaze by tin or white earths."

The "celestial blue" preceded the dull green of oxided glazes, of which none were considered older than 900 to 800 B.C., while other colours found were employed by the Egyptians during the reign of Rameses II., monarch of the 19th Dynasty. Stones were glazed during the reign of Thothmes I. of the 18th Dynasty, about 1800 B.C.

All over the ruins of Babylonia are found fragments of glazed ware consisting of pieces of the bricks with which the inner walls of buildings were riveted. Bricks of this kind have occurred bearing Persian cuneiform inscriptions. This is

[1] The oldest palace of Nimrud from which we get glazed bricks was built by Assur-nazir pal, who reigned from 885 to 860 B.C. The colours of the glazes are green, blue, yellow, and white.

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mentioned, because in the history of Japanese enamels Persian influence has been in some cases traceable upon specimens.

Enamels have been found upon rude jewellery that adorned the mummies of ancient Egypt. The art also of encausting, in which bleached wax was employed as a medium for enamels, has been found in mummy bandages. The ancient Egyptians employed it for beautifying earthen vessels and trinkets of various kinds. In like manner this wonderful substance was set upon the ornaments and insignia of Celtic kings. In truth, most countries can furnish us with relics of this art, which has been carried out with more or less success in Europe as well as Asia. In the time of Justinian, whose great wealth afforded him the opportunity of satisfying his love of magnificence, this art was brought to the highest state of perfection. It was dedicated chiefly to religious service.

In the 12th century A.D., at Limoges, success was achieved mostly in the style of painting and pit enamel, *not* cloisonné, which seems exclusively to have engaged the attention of the people of the extreme East far more than any other method.

Acceptable information proves that the precious art was bestowed upon the Japanese by their neighbours the Chinese, since it was known and practised in China during the Ming Dynasty (1368 to 1643), if not earlier; but as this extended over centuries, it is considered safest by those who have studied the subject to determine that its manufacture began in Japan about three hundred years ago, during that memorable epoch known as the *Tokugawa* period, when Iyeyasu and the successive Shōguns encouraged the best and most valuable hand industries, undertaken generally by the retainers of the Daimio, or feudal lords. The Shōguns themselves became patrons of all that was undertaken by the clever artists and artisans of the 17th century and onwards.

In the monograph entitled "Notes on Shippō," by the late J. L. Bowes, two dated lists of periods are given. These periods are known as the *Early*, the *Middle*, and the *Modern*. They differ very widely in point of centuries, one commencing from 660 B.C., and the other division set forth by Mr. Bowes commencing from the *Ashikaga* period, 1335 A.D.; but, as both these divisional methods are considered by present experts too early, we must try by more extended research to eliminate the

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mystery of its appearance. As to the exact date, this cannot be arrived at for the present, and even any approximate date between the 8th and the 16th century is put forth in a tentative manner.

The ancient or early wares show signs of decided Chinese influence; the middle period work is marked by more careful treatment, both in colouring and manufacture. These were supposed by some writers to have been produced during the Thsing Dynasty, 1643 A.D. But these specimens then made were not for export. The country was closed to the outside world, and, as the art was only prosecuted in the northern provinces, it consequently did not fall into the hands of the Dutch traders settled in Deshima, the extreme southern point of Japan. We have every reason to believe that the difficulty of obtaining knowledge of the working of enamels was due to the fact that, being mostly destined for the royal household, the pieces were worked out in secrecy and seclusion, and were too precious for the eyes of ordinary mortals. This arose out of the belief in the utter sanctity of Japan's imperial ruler, and his traditional heavenly descent.

Middle-ware pieces can be identified by the absence of a metal rim round the extreme edges of the vase or plaque, which is noticeable in work of the late period. When these rims are used they are fixed on before the cells are arranged. The *Hirata* family figure as the representative workers in Shippō, 1596 A.D. and onwards. HIRATA Donin is regarded by some authorities as the founder of the house. He was born at Mino, and embraced the art of working in metals at Kyōtō. His patron was the great Iyeyasu, who approved of his capabilities to the extent that he commanded his service as a chaser of metals, as well as a worker of Shippō in 1611 A.D.[1]

Possibly owing to the difficulty of pursuing the art, and of

[1] The earliest *champlevé* and *cloisonné* made by the Hirata family was of a clear, dull green, rather roughly fashioned. Later a metallic groundwork of gilt bronze was favoured, enriched by patches of colours of many tones, which gave it the appearance of painted work. These enamellers were celebrated for the purity of their white pastes, the means by which it was produced being kept a profound secret.

Among the members of this family who worked in Shippō chiefly upon sword furniture may be mentioned Hirata Donin or Hikoshiro, Narikazu, Narihisa, Harunari, Narimasa, Nari Kado, Nari Yuki, and others.

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finding sufficient patronage for the valuable objects when completed, for a time it languished, and ran a chance of declining beyond recovery. The development was slow, but a revival was effected by the energetic spirit of one KAJI Tsunikichi. This expert was born at Nagoya Owari, and it is at Nagoya to-day that much beautiful work is turned out. Like HIRATA Donin, Tsunikichi enjoyed illustrious patronage. His skill expanded, and his popularity extended to Tokyō and even to Kyōtō. At the present day at Nagoya thousands of enamel workers devote their energies to this difficult and lovely work, and since the Restoration great progress has been made and excellence attained.

KAJI Tsunikichi was a samurai; he was born in 1802 A.D., and, having to expand his modest income, he sought employment, and first worked in metals, finally turning his attention to the enrichment of metal objects by means of enamel pastes. He covered the entire surface of the metal foundation with colours. This was effected by the use of brass ribbons, which formed the cloisons or separate cells upon the foundation of the object itself—a departure from the earlier form of making rosettes and plaques, and finally soldering them on, or sinking them in as the design required.

In 1853 Tsunikichi began to take pupils; these still adhered to his methods and continued on his lines work that found ready purchasers and patrons among foreigners, both merchants and private individual collectors. It is to this expert that we are indebted for our knowledge of the art, for by reason of his ceaseless work he made it possible for us to obtain specimens.

Forty years ago Japanese enamels were unknown in England; they were not seen in the collections of far Eastern treasures. Old and rarer pieces that were eventually procured by travellers were purchasable by means of the decline or rather indifference to Buddhism, which led to the spoliation of many temples where precious enamel ware had found acceptance for use during religious ceremonials.

To-day two experts of the same name pursue the work, Namikawa of Tokyō and Namikawa of Kyōtō. Namikawa of Tokyō is a master of translucent enamels. His range of colour is great. His enamels resemble pictorial designs, his manipulation is perfect. He prides himself on the elusive veiling of the

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cloisons, which have aided his method of producing effects of painting, as on *faïence*, though worked out in quite a different manner. Namikawa of Kyotō revels in true *cloisonné* and charms by means of floral and arabesque designs, in which wealth and harmony of colour play their own important parts.

His men work in companionship, surrounded by scenery, peaceful and full of symbolic suggestion, calculated to elevate the mind and impart religious and helpful lessons to the patient workers labouring over their tedious tasks. This thoughtful precaution is part of the master's scheme of education.

At Nagoya the handling of translucent and monochromatic enamels secures a pleasing variety in the way of diaphanous veils, over bases of gold engraved in refined and desirable treatment. Mr. Ando of Nagoya has applied various tints to silver, and this selection has resulted in quite a departure from other metal foundations of iron, copper, and gilt bronze. Translucent colours exhibit greater brilliance thereby, and although silver has been selected in other countries for this purpose, it has only been quite recently tried in Japan. A translucent blue of remarkable tone is obtained, which admits of light penetrating to the base of the object, and if the different kinds of enamel are brought into the composition of the design, the effect is thoroughly charming.

Captain Brinkley remarks "that it is not incorrect to say that the art of *cloisonné* enamelling was developed, during the last quarter of the 19th century, from a state of comparative crudeness to one of unparalleled excellence."

This is certainly very encouraging to those who are carrying on the laborious work. There can be no disputing that many early modern pieces are worthy of consideration and admiration. It is true they do not bear comparison with ancient pieces, the choice of colour being widely different, as well as the particular manner in which they are worked out. For instance, they do not receive such elaborate treatment, and often wide spaces are filled in with single colours—colours that would not be acceptable to the eyes of most connoisseurs constantly feasting on the labours of the past, over which Time and other confederates have made us slaves. Still, let us hope the work will never die out, and that no event of history will sink it into oblivion. If it lives, it must be as the hands that undertake its guardianship

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determine. To-day, in some manufactories you may find specimens that bear the appearance of great antiquity, with all the subtle cunning and workmanship of earlier archaic energy, but should you inquire of the master of the factory if he could furnish you with an approximate date of manufacture, he will smile a pleasing smile as he courteously makes answer, "These honourable pieces that you inquire about have just been withdrawn from the kiln to-day."

Prior to the Restoration an attempt was also made to imitate old pieces. This effort was attended more or less with success. Porcelain ground work was sometimes substituted for metal. The work was not always acceptable, though Europe and America favoured its production.[1]

The first and Early Period objects destined to receive the application of the precious substances were marked by the extreme thinness of the copper sheets from which the foundations were shaped. By this peculiarity they were at once distinguished from the heavier bases of Chinese specimens. But when the art was first introduced into Japan, it was demonstrated upon very small pieces only. These were prepared on brass or gold foundations, to be soldered on to art objects. For instance, sword guards and sword furniture were treated in this manner. For sword furniture both opaque and semi-opaque pastes were employed by DONIN Hirata; indeed, this happy idea of enhancing the sombre appearance of the grim and deadly weapons which have memorialised the swordsmiths of Japan is attributed to the Hirata family.

The earliest *champlevé* and *cloisonné* is of a dull green, or a cloudy white, and a blue not distinguished for its clearness of tone. In fact, early Japanese work is quite as dull in tone as that executed in the neighbouring country. It was in later work that the introduction of lines of translucent enamel were set upon gilt bronze and other metals. The specimens entirely embellished belonged to the 18th century and onward; they were not prepared earlier.

But as small pieces were found acceptable, the call for greater

[1] In Seto flower vases are made prepared with cloisons which, instead of being filled with vitreous pastes, are supplied with lacquer and finally coated with the same substance, under which the brass ribbons can be distinguished.

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possibilities of a more expansive nature resulted, in the manufacture of larger pieces, until, as previously remarked, the whole surface of a tea-jar, vase, or pattern was completely veiled in rich and satisfying combinations of colour, and covered with cloisons.

In Mr. Audsley's "Ornamental Arts of Japan," Vol. II., many beautiful examples are figured of various objects, both large and small. These are faithfully reproduced, and give us an excellent idea of the patience and skill lavished by the makers upon them. The range of colours employed becomes wider and wider; some late specimens are treated with colours and semi-tones that can be counted in double figures. These figured objects date from the end of the 17th century onwards.

The earliest piece of *shippō* that is known in Japan is figured and described in the monograph, already alluded to, by the late J. L. Bowes. Whether it is Japanese work, or whether it has been preserved as a valuable relic from a neighbouring country, we have little chance of determining. This piece is known as the Mirror of Shomu. It is stated to have belonged to the Empress Komio, wife of the Emperor Shomu, and some Japanese experts believe it to be of native workmanship. Further light seems to have been thrown on it recently by a remark contained in Professor KAKASU Okakura's book entitled "The Ideals of the East," p. 127.

Another author remarks, "Among the relics of the Nara Court, the Mirror of Shomu, preserved in the Shoso, is a treasure possibly of the 8th century, but connoisseurs are not agreed in regarding this as Japanese workmanship." "This specimen," he adds, "is not finished off with the delicacy and attention of later pieces. The cloisons project above the enamels, and therefore they were not ground down or polished." Historians recount that Chinese artisans migrated to Persia in the 13th century, and were interested in investigating several decorative arts practised by the people; also that Persian art recently acquired in England strongly endorses this statement, being imbued with Chinese influence.

The Japanese have comprised the art of enamelling within the poetic symbolic word *shippō*, or *shippō yaki*, enamel and enamel ware. *Shippō* embodies in this interpretation *seven precious* things, viz. gold, silver, emerald, coral, agate, crystal, and pearl. These materials are not present, but only expressed, as it were,

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in the pastes selected. *Shippō* is an art that suggests to the mind of the Japanese rare gems and valuable materials.

There is far more in this term *shippō* than can be grasped by us, because perhaps this mystic number seven is applied and made use of to express in its summing up what cannot be suggested even by any other medium.

"Seven precious things" to them are like the seven precious colours and the seven separate notes of music, by whose means all the glorious Art of the world has found expression and interpretation!

In studying the manners, customs, traditions, and symbolism of the Land of the Gods, we find frequent mention of this number, notably, the Seven Patrons of Happiness, the Seven Sages, the Seven Blessings, and so forth. The seventh day is chosen as one auspicious for new and great undertakings, and in all the romance of the land, the festival of *Tanabata*, or the Weaving Princess, that is kept on the seventh day of the seventh month, has no equal for its sweetness of story and beauty of significance.

It has been stated that at one time precious stones were actually given up for the production of *shippō* by the Chinese. Sometimes, also, coloured glass was introduced, either in large pieces or ground down to powder. Specimens of this kind had a foundation of gold. It was, however, soon determined that such a costly proceeding must give way to a less expensive method.

This style was, we know, adopted by the Egyptians with more or less success.

The word enamel can be used either to describe the substance employed, or to express the work when completed.

Referring to the substance itself, there are three kinds of enamel known to the world of Art, namely, the *transparent*, the *translucent*, or semi-transparent, and the *opaque*. Transparent, as the term implies, is that through which the base of the object can be clearly seen, whether it is only smooth metal, or whether it is chased or engraved. Translucent enamel only partially admits light under certain conditions, while opaque enamel is thick and cloudy, and presents the appearance of stones wetted by sea-water. There are three distinct ways of applying enamel, respectively named.

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Champlevé, or pit enamel. For this small pits or hollows are made in the foundation destined to receive the pastes, the elevated sides of the pits forming the only barriers between one paste and the other. In this style the enamel is seldom so deep as in the second or most important style, known as *cloisonné*, which is the result of using minute wires of brass or gold, which are made to form cells, or cloisons. Thirdly, there is a way of applying enamel to a smooth surface, after the manner of applying colours to *faïence*. This last method has been most generally tried by various countries and people. All three have been worked in Japan with greater or less success, but the Japanese turned their attention chiefly to *cloisonné*, and by reason of their closer prosecution of this particular style, they are considered to be the most successful and perfect workers of *shippō* in the East.

All enamels are composed of a simple flux in the first place, and of a compound flux strengthened and determined by oxides of various metals. Enamels require in the preliminary stage a foundation obtained by pulverising flint or sand, to which carbonate of soda and lead are added, and melted together in a crucible.

This constitutes the basis of all enamels, and must have done so ever since the art was known.

Transparent colourless enamel is the result of a combination of soda or potash, calcined flint or sand, oxide of lead, and a small proportion of lime magnesia. This can be used alone, or with the addition of various metallic oxides in greater or less proportions as the artist requires. To obtain light shades or darker tones the regulation of the process of fusing must be studied. As a rule, the longer the fusing the darker and richer will be the shade of colour produced. The oxides of the following metals give the colours to the fluxes used by the Japanese. They are identical with those analysed and selected by the Egyptians and Assyrians.

Iron will give brown, orange, and red in lighter or darker shades, according to the amount of heat and the length of time they remain under that heat.

Manganese will produce violet and purple in many shades.

Copper will give green, blue, or red.

Antimony and silver will produce yellow or brown.

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Tin, opaque white.

Oxide of cobalt, a beautiful blue.

Upon a *sara*, or large saucer-shaped dish of late period, *cloisonné* of a bold design of dragons, given in Mr. Audsley's work already alluded to, the following colours are employed: Dark green, blue, purple, turquoise, lilac, slate, dull red, flesh colour, black, and white; while upon another specimen of the same kind, dark green, turquoise, ultramarine, red, full-toned pink, lilac, lemon, yellow, black, and white. This shows what great progress has been made in the production of wider ranges of tints and useful colours, assisting the artist, and giving freedom in the selection of designs.

The process of fusion cannot be too carefully carried out. Great evenness of tone is highly essential if the work is to prove flawless when finished. Regularity in appearance is the hall-mark of perfection. Ingredients are submitted to the ordeals of fire and water, by which means purification is ensured, as well as by the later stages of cleansing, sifting, and washing. The lead, which is the last item added, being a very important part of the flux, must be most carefully prepared, in order that an equal distribution of ingredient may lead to a thorough co-mingling of the whole mass.

To produce a piece of *cloisonné* enamel, the work should be conducted in the following manner. A sheet of thin copper is selected, from which the desired form is obtained by means of shaping, bending, and hammering. When this is accomplished, the object is thoroughly cleaned and polished, in order to free it from dust and the impress of the touch of the hand of the metallurgist. It should be made as bright and smooth as possible. The Chinese produced their specimens by a process of casting for large pieces, and by moderately thick plates of brass for smaller specimens. Their work was consequently heavier and not so attractive.

Thoroughly polished, a tracing is made upon the object to be decorated, and the whole design already agreed upon is set thereon, either by means of an engraver's tool, by red lead, or it is painted on with a brush in Indian ink, when a porcelain basis is under consideration. This tracing is made in order to indicate the manner in which the cells are to be disposed.

The next stage consists in placing the gold, silver, or copper

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wires edgeways upon the lines of the drawing with great accuracy. These wires are fitted on one by one in small pieces. Each one has to be shaped in the exact angle or curve as the design requires, and we learn that it is not unusual to find as many as a hundred bent pieces of ribbon, in the space of about a square inch. By this we can estimate the time and patience needed for the preliminary part of the enameller's art. There are seven ways of moulding the ribbons—circular, straight, curved, incurved, wedge-shaped, lozenge-shaped, and egg-shaped. The disposal of the wires must be such as to obtain perfect cells, each being separate, and capable of receiving individual tints and pastes.

The next process is to fix on these pieces, and make them adhere to the foundation, by means of some sticky substance, such as rice paste, or a vegetable glue made from the root of the *bi-yaku-gu*, a species of orchid which is crushed up in boiling water. It then becomes very adhesive. This is an extremely useful fixing preparation. Enamellers in other countries have recourse to the boiled pips of quince.

The wires satisfactorily disposed and fixed in their places, fine solder-filings are laid down wherever the ribbons touch the designs. Sometimes only a portion is prepared at a time, but, if possible, it is best to cover up the whole foundation at once. The object is then subjected to a gentle heat, sufficient to enable the solder to carry out the work of adhesion without injury to the metal ribbons. As the solder settles down in its place, the fire chars away the rice paste or the orchid glue. Withdrawn from the muffle, the appearance at this stage is far from displeasing, a fine mesh of ribbons veiling the whole surface. In some cases modern enamel artists prefer a clear enamel base, which is applied before the coloured enamels are placed. This ensures success, and strengthens the solder, covering up any possible deficiency during the melting operation.

Solder is composed of 8 parts brass, 10 parts zinc, and 7 parts tin; it is used with borax and water. The muffle or oven is of brick fire-proof paste.

Thus made ready for the final beautifying, into each separate cell is laid, by the aid of a bamboo pen or wand, a minute quantity of tinted enamel requisite to carry out the pictured design or plan agreed upon.

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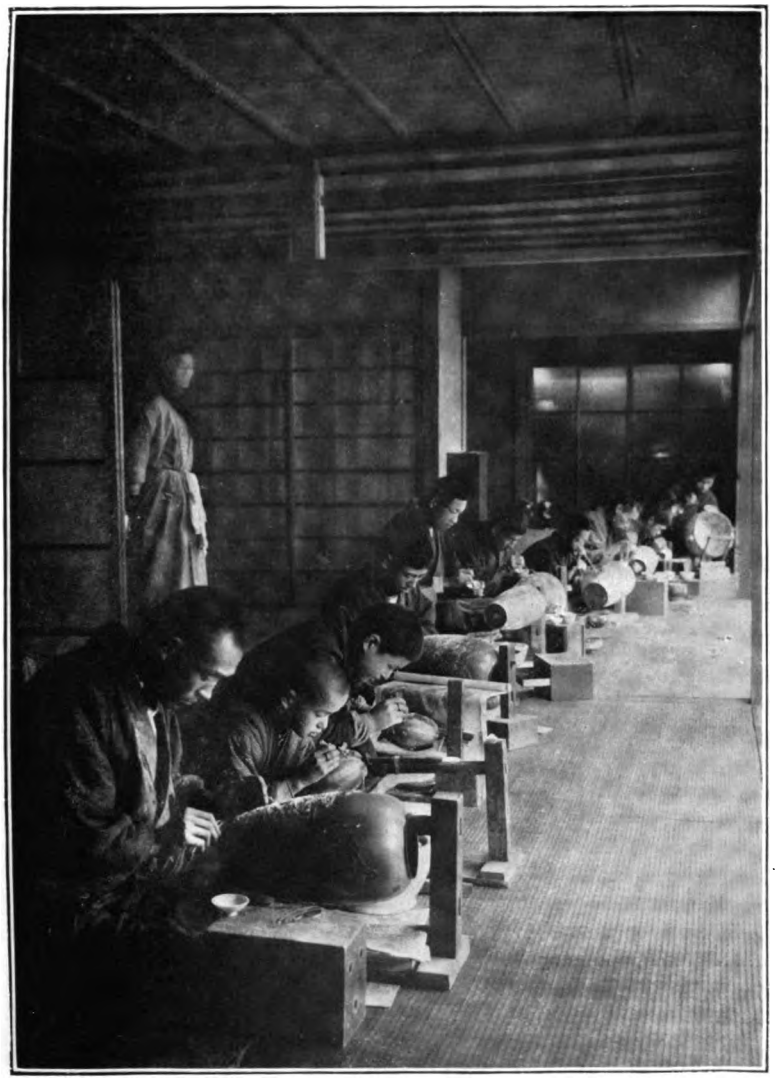

ARTISTS AT WORK "WIRE-SETTING" ON VASES OF SILVER AND COPPER.

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ARTIST FILLING THE CLOISONS OR CELLS WITH ENAMEL AFTER THE WIRES HAVE BEEN FIXED ON THE VASE.

ARTIST DRAWING DESIGN ON COPPER OBJECT.

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This is often deputed to women, who sit together at a table, each having before her a saucer containing the special tints for which she is responsible; but men are also often employed in this industry.

When the cloisons are all furnished with pastes, and supplied to the satisfaction of the artist, the object is set by for a time, in order that any moisture may evaporate, for the oxides and the fluxes have to be mixed with either volatile oils or water, oil being chiefly selected for transparent enamels, because of the brilliancy it is able to impart.

Once more overhauled, the object is finally set in the muffle, and heated to a certain temperature, sufficient to allow the pastes to fuse. The heat reaches about a little more than 1000 degrees Fahrenheit.[1]

So delicate is this operation of firing, and so uncertain is the result, that those pieces of *shippō* which are found satisfactory when every stage of the work is completed, command high prices. One successful piece will cover the price of many failures.

Some enamels do not fuse so easily as others; they are liable to sink in, to show spots and bubbles, and other serious defects. Consequently, three or four feedings are often necessary for many of the cells. In each case the object must be withdrawn from the furnace and left to cool, before it can receive the fresh supply of paste needed to make it perfect.

The last process must be the most interesting. This is the polishing, because when the object leaves the oven for the last time, the surface is very rough, and the design is not altogether recognisable. Overflows may have taken place, and other defects which must be got rid of. Several polishings may be necessary. For this stage certain powdered ingredients are selected, sandstone, slate, and finely powdered charcoal, finally hartshorn is used with rape-seed oil.

It is not until the last touch is given, that the painstaking artist receives the reward of his labour. Some of these lovely works are as fresh to-day as they were when they left the hand of the artificer, a hundred years ago—beautiful and satisfying

[1] Each time that the enamel is withdrawn from the furnace, it must be allowed time to cool, and the fire must be increased gradually. About two hours is required for each firing.

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in their results; objects to enrich the world; work that will remain a proof of man's patient labour and consummate skill for the joy of generations yet unborn, and for all time.

These remarks are based upon the opinions of the few authors who have given the subject their attention, Messrs. Audsley and Bowes, Captain Bruckley, Dr. Rein, and others.

The veil of mystery that still hangs over the origin of *shippō* I leave to be lifted by more competent hands than my own. This is a delicate task, and may take years to accomplish, unless some native literature or manuscript comes to our assistance.

The art has undergone three phases—

I. The initial stage of applying enamels by means of small plaques, soldered or sunk in, chiefly to metal foundations.

II. The production of larger pieces, in which the entire surface of the object was often treated in a most delicate manner, enriched with diaper patterns, or designs of buds and flowers, dragons, trailing branches, birds, etc.

III. By the modern method of covering wide spaces with single colours, and by a sparing use of the metal barriers, which has minimised labour, and in a measure has altered the character of the industry.

In the hands of the Japanese this art should know no limit. They are a nation of true artists. Labour expended in the true traditional spirit, conscientiously carried out, should be thoughtfully considered, and graciously encouraged. There is no reason why their work should not bear in the future, as it has done in the past, the hall-mark of individuality.

At the conclusion of the Paper, Sir ALMA TADEMA said he was quite sure that everybody had listened with interest to the paper which Mrs. Salwey called so slight. He would now invite a discussion on the subject.

Mr. GARBUTT, M.J.S., said he had great pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to Mrs. Salwey for her interesting paper. The subject was one concerning which there was but little historical information, and about which more knowledge was desired, as he had been told by a gentleman who had resided many years in Japan, that *Shippō* work was now practically a lost and unknown art.

Judging from the small number of objects lent to the Meeting that evening, there seem to have been two different schools—the opaque

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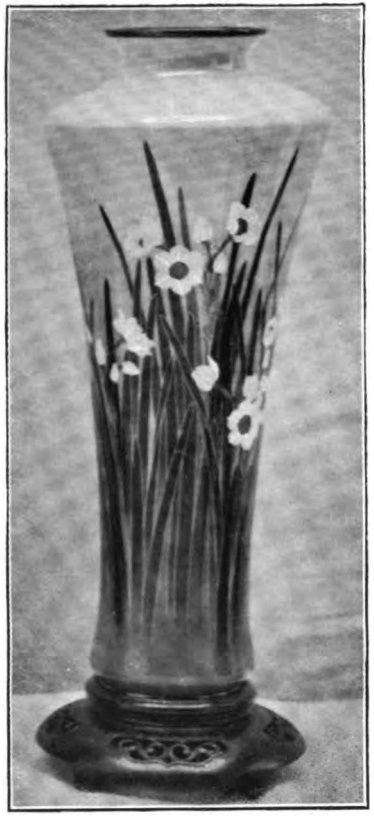

COPPER VASE; TREATED WITH SILVER CLOISONS. DESIGN, WHITE DAFFODILS ON A PINK GROUND, GREEN LEAVES. NATURAL SIZE. BY J. ANDO.

COPPER VASE, MADE FOR THE JAPANESE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD BY J. ANDO. DESIGN, THE HORNED ORANGE VINE, CHRYSANTHEMUM, AND IMPERIAL CREST.

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and comparatively rough work, such as was to be seen in the Mirror of Shomu, to which the authoress had referred, and which class of work seemed to have been carried on almost without intermission up to the present day; and the other class consisting of the translucent and transparent enamels such as those produced by the Hirata family, and of these two the work of the Hirata family was as a rule the most attractive. He would like to call attention to the fact that the Hirata family had an historical record dating back to the year 1600, and that one member of the family was still working, or was up to a few years ago.

He then proposed the vote of thanks to Mrs. Salwey.

Mr. HARDING SMITH (*Member of Council, J.S.*) said he would very much like to know what took place between the period of the Mirror of Shomu and the commencement of the work by the Hirata family, for between the two periods there was a gap of some eight hundred years.

He then referred to one specimen among the exhibited enamels which evidently belonged to this intervening period, and which might be considered a missing link. It was an oval box, and the enamel was without glaze, more in the style of champlevé, though it was *not* champlevé, since the enamel was not carved out.

There were many interesting specimens of work by the Hirata family exhibited that evening, amongst others, two little rings and a dagger, all of which were signed by the artisan. He had much pleasure in seconding Mr. Garbutt's vote of thanks to Mrs. Salwey for her very interesting and concise paper.

Sir STEPHEN GATTY, M.J.S., asked whether it were possible for a person like himself to obtain information as to the exact substance used in modern Japanese enamels. From his own experience, he thought they must have a more certain method of working than that described by Mrs. Salwey in her paper, since the very cheapness of their beautiful work precluded the idea of their being able to waste material in futile efforts. There was a certain white metal which would bear the heat of the fuse and not get spoilt; was it possible to find out what this metal was? They must have a particular solder unknown to enamel workers in England, for if the solder was not absolutely right, it spoilt the effect of the enamel. These practical disadvantages must have been mastered in Japan, and he regretted that there was no book published in the country where the work was carried on which might help one to master them too. He would like to know the composition of the enamel in greater detail, and, if possible, to get it, in order to try the effect. He must say he was disappointed, from a collector's point of view, to hear that so little had been discovered as to how this work was done in the sense useful to a craftsman. The Japan Society which provided such an interesting paper should be able to give this information. He should be grateful if any one could throw any light on the subject.

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The marvel about enamel was the totally different range of colours even in the same material. To be able to effect this, it would be necessary to know modern Japanese methods. He hoped that they would go on with the work, though it had been said that, unfortunately, they were not giving the same attention to it as they used.

Mr. CHARLES HOLME (*Chairman of Council, J.S.*) said he should like to support the resolution thanking Mrs. Salwey for her interesting paper. There were so many matters connected with *cloisonné* enamel of interest to the artist and to the craftsman—indeed, it was a subject almost endless in its interest.

Sir Stephen Gatty had asked about certain little secrets of the Japanese in making enamels. The Japanese produced a translucent enamel equalled by no other in the world, save, perhaps, by that produced in a city in India. He mentioned the name of a worker of translucent enamel in Kyōtō, who boasted of producing an enamel better in its technical qualities than anything done by the Chinese. He had had the opportunity of visiting this craftsman, who showed him the way to produce an enamel perfectly free from those little pinholes liable to occur in enamels, though these pinholes were not as a rule noticed in enamels for sale, since they were carefully filled in with wax when imported. He wondered how this perfection was obtained, and was shown how the enamels were introduced into the cloisons produced by the wires. A very common way in Japan was to introduce the enamel in a somewhat creamy condition; but the Kyōtō artisan put the enamel into the cloison quite dry, with the addition of a little gum-water, ramming it into the cloisons as tightly as possible, and it was this careful ramming in of the material which prevented the little pinholes often found.

Mr. Holme further described how each colour was fired separately, since some enamels needed greater heat than others to produce the colour required. Those requiring the greatest heat were fired first, and so on.

As a little piece of technical detail which might prove interesting, Mr. Holme said that the question of the *grace* of artistic enamels and their value as pieces of technique must be considered quite apart. The old valuable pieces of enamel were on very thin metal, but there were enamels which proved by their imperfect manufacture that they were older even than these, and which were enamelled on *thick* metal. The early pieces of Japanese *cloisonné* might be said to be more akin to Chinese work, though coarser, rougher, and much heavier. There was an enamel worker in Kyōtō who did not employ cloisons; his work was most expensive, and very different from *cloisonné* work. True *cloisonné* enamel, he remarked, was an art in itself, and purely a cell-enamel—the beauty being that the cells were taken advantage of in every possible

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way. Modern work, however, was not to be compared to the blue and green and dull red enamels of forty years ago, when a perfection of *cloisonné* was produced that had never been reached in later times. He concluded by thanking Mrs. Salwey for her delightful paper.

Mr. PHENÉ SPIERS (*Member of Council, J.S.*) said, though a great deal was known about the work of the Hirata family, there was a class of work to be found at the beginning of last century almost obscure in its history, where the cloisons were put on a thin metal base, the cloisons themselves being thin, and the ground invariably white. Mr. Phené Spiers remarked on the cheapness of Japanese enamels in contrast with those produced in England, and further recalled some curious vases and the prices fetched by them at different exhibitions and sales.

Mr. PHILLIPS, M.J.S., desired to know how the paste was put on to very large oval surfaces and yet was able to retain its position during firing. How was it that the enamel did not run, and thus make uneven surfaces? One never found uneven surfaces, and yet the enamel was put on in a liquid form. This was especially remarkable in the case of silver enamelling. In England silver had been discontinued, since such intense heat was required for liquefying the enamels used that the silver melted, and the basis of good enamel was always gold.

Mr. CHARLES HOLME said he was not able to give any information on that subject, but in Japanese enamelling the cloison so enclosed the enamel that it did not allow it to run. Concerning the modern method executed in Kyōtō, the worker is very secret, and it was difficult to say how the different surfaces were produced, but very probably by successive layers, which demanded numerous firings, and one layer over another produced the desired effect.

Mrs. BISHOP (*Visitor*) asked if the cloisons were always soldered on, and never gummed. In England they were held on to a flat surface by the enamel.

Mr. CHARLES HOLME said they were not always soldered on; the cloison was placed in gum, and the enamel was put right away into it, the enamel itself apparently filling up the space and making it homogeneous.

Mrs. BISHOP said if the receipt could be found it would be very useful.

Sir ALMA TADEMA concluded the meeting by saying any handicraft in art was subject to experience which led to secrets, and he presumed that was the case in Japan, since the art of true enamelling seemed to be reserved to two families. It was only that the Japanese would not tell us how they did it. If it could be found out it would no doubt be very useful, but just as the secret of the porcelain of the middle ages was

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now lost to us, so were many other things. But, fortunately, there were always new methods being discovered, and people were also found kind enough to give us information about the subject, which was so attractive.

He then proposed to them the vote, which was carried unanimously.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

NOTE.—Since the reading of this paper, Mr. J. Ando, of Nagoya, Japan, has kindly sent some photographs, showing the artists at work in his enamel manufactory. Also beautiful examples of modern *shippō*, recently produced by him, with full descriptions of the designs. A selection of these photographs will be found as illustrations.—C. M. S.

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THE EIGHTY-SEVENTH ORDINARY MEETING,

(FIFTH OF THE FIFTEENTH SESSION,)

MARCH 14TH, 1906.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, London.*]

Mr. MARCUS B. HUISH, L.L.B., *Hon. Librarian and Curator, J.S.*, took the Chair at 8.30 P.M., when a Paper was read by Mr. J. MORRIS, *M.J.S.*, on "A PILGRIMAGE TO ISÉ." Mr. Huish, in introducing the Lecturer, said he felt confident that he would disprove what had almost passed into a proverb in Japan, that there was nothing to see at Isé, and that one was not even allowed to see that. Yet it was known to be a place where every Shinto believer considered it his duty to go every year, and even dogs were to be found among the worshippers! Tradition told us that the temple of Isé had had to be rebuilt again and again after a short sequence of years. We also knew that in it was to be found the mirror of the most beautiful goddess who ever lived. Doubtless, concerning these and other things, Mr. Morris, as an old resident in Japan, would tell us that evening, for he was not only one of the earliest of living Englishmen to go to that country, having arrived in the first year of the reign of the present emperor, but as engineering chief in the electrical department, he had ample opportunities of traversing the country from end to end before the introduction of railways, and thus saw the land under conditions unknown to many of the present day.

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A PILGRIMAGE TO ISÉ.

By J. MORRIS, M.J.S.

IN selecting the topic of "A Pilgrimage to Isé" as that to which I venture to invite your attention, I was tempted to think that, having dwelt for some years in that part of Japan through which the pilgrims annually pass in great numbers during the spring and early summer, and knowing, as I do, the region fairly well, I might be able to convey to you impressions at first hand, as it were, of the character of such pilgrimages and of the habits of the devotees themselves, for it was my lot, during several successive seasons, to rub shoulders, so to speak, with many thousands of them. It may be mentioned that they do not form up into long and somewhat straggling columns, as do pilgrims in India, when on the march, but make their way along the Japanese high-roads in little knots of a dozen or twenty, each party usually being headed by a guide in the person of one who has been over the ground often before, and knows the famous places to which a divergence ought to be made in the course of the journey, so that no opportunity may be missed of obtaining the full benefit to be derived from paying visits to celebrated Shinto shrines other than those of Isé, which may lie near the route. For the pilgrimage to Yamada, it must be remembered, is the event of a lifetime, and may involve a journey extending over hundreds of miles. I mention Shinto shrines in particular because the pilgrims are not supposed to concern themselves, when on these excursions, with any others. At the present day the railway carries the majority of the worshippers, and the pilgrimage is shorn of its most interesting features for a Western observer, so my remarks cannot be taken as bearing solely on the existing system, but as having reference in no small degree to the method of travel adopted prior to the spread of railway communication in the Isé direction. Nevertheless, the objects

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which the hundreds of thousands of men and women, drawn chiefly from the agricultural class, have in view, are in all essentials the same to-day as they were centuries ago, and the account given by Kaempfer, for example, tallies in most respects with the habits of the "*do-sha*"—to employ a colloquial term—as I observed them nearly two hundred years later. The railroad has lessened the fatigues of the journey, that is all. The branch line, twenty-six miles in length, from Tsu to Yamada, is known, by the way, as the *San-Gu Tetsudo*—literally *San* = "to visit a superior," and *Gu* = *miyā*, or "Shinto shrine," so that this is actually the Pilgrims' Railway.

The "*Isé mairi*"—here the verb *mairu*, "to" (speaking politely) "come or go," written with the character *San* just mentioned, is used as a noun—has in the estimation of the Japanese people an importance only equalled by the Mahommedan pilgrimage to Mecca. The Isé temples have been for ages invested with a sanctity that is incomparably above that pertaining to even the most famous of the other shrines of the Empire. This is due, of course, to their being directly associated in the minds of the people with the dynasty itself, for they were established by the eleventh Mikado, just prior to the commencement of the Christian era, and their original form has, as is well known, been preserved by the most careful renewal, in the minutest detail, of the venerable buildings, at regular intervals from that time to this. The arrangement is that one or other of the temples, in turn, undergoes complete reconstruction at the end of every two decades. This gives forty years as the life of each structure, which is a not too liberal allowance for unvarnished timber. We have, therefore, in the Isé buildings a survival, in every sense remarkable, of the style of architecture which prevailed in Japan at an epoch in which the inhabitants of the British Isles were still nomadic and devoted to Druidism, an ancient and primitive form of religion which, by the way, had probably spread hitherward at some remote period from Asia, and had close affinities to the patriarchal systems of the Orient. It is said that in the Isé type of building we have a reproduction, century after century, of the Japanese primeval hut. But I am unwilling—and, moreover, wholly incompetent—to touch upon subjects associated with the ancient architecture of the East, which is a science in itself, and as leading in the direction of an

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investigation of the origin of the Japanese nation, which is far beyond the scope and design of this paper. Still, I venture to propose, with your permission, briefly to allude to matters of common belief concerning the advent on the shores of Kiushiu of Jimmu Tenno and his warriors, in the seventh century B.C., as it is with the history of Japan's first ruler and his successors on the throne—the imperial house, in fact—that the existence and prosperity of the holy places of the land have ever been identified.

And now I will beg of you to picture in your minds the pilgrim in the act of setting out from a distant village in the interior of the country, bent upon the one expedition of his lifetime, perhaps, and which it has fallen to him by the ballot to undertake, the cost being defrayed out of a subscription to which he for years past, it may be, has cheerfully contributed his mite, ardently looking forward the while to the time when it should be his turn to start off for Yamada. Habited in clean cotton garments, with straw sandals on his feet, an enormously wide-brimmed hat on his head, and with a thin *goza* mat—which will serve him on a push to sleep upon—rolled and slung behind his back, staff in hand, he bids farewell to those who have assembled in the village street to wish him health and the best of luck. Some of them lay on him their strictest injunctions not to forget his promises to them when plunged in the vortex of that town life of which they can form but a faint conception high up in their peaceful mountain homes. Indeed, Jirokichi, as we will name him—the "happy fellow"—is not only responsible for the due conduct of his own affairs while on this pilgrimage, but is freighted with the penitences of a whole community desirous of procuring relief from the consequences of half a year's transgressions, and who will individually demand of him on his return the releases (*O harai*) which he is charged to obtain for them at Isé, sufficient to afford them perfect ease of mind for at least the six months to follow. This term is somewhat elastic, and is open to expansion, indeed, even to a year or more, should it be found impracticable to repeat the pilgrimage sooner. Jirokichi knows just where to meet those who are to be his companions on the road, for everything has been well thought out beforehand, and at the old provincial boundary, a couple of leagues away, on the summit of the pass, he will find two or three of his fellow-pilgrims awaiting him. The little party grows in numbers

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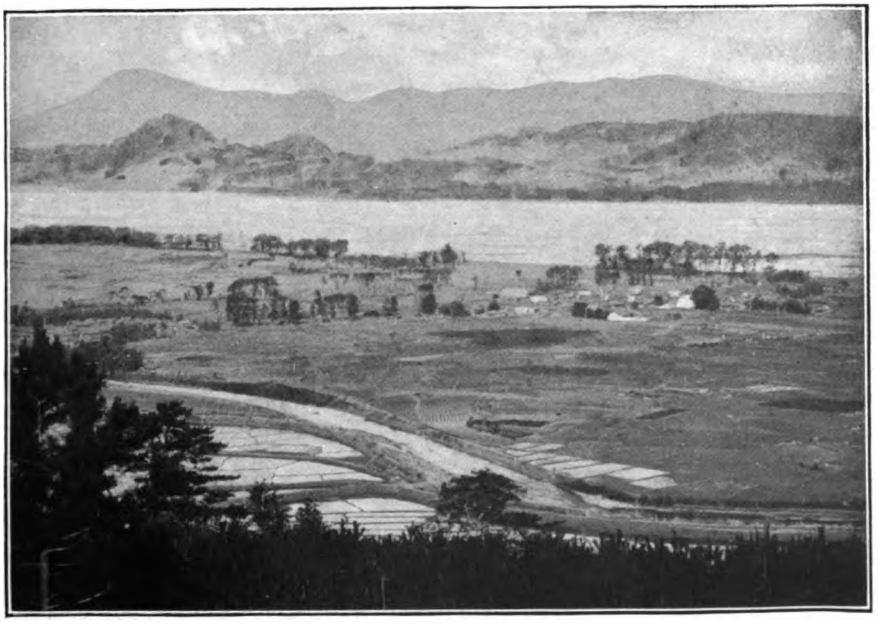
THE RIVER O-I, VIEWED FROM THE HILLS ABOVE KANAYA, ON ITS WEST BANK.



THE RIVER O-I, VIEWED FROM NEAR KANAYA, ON ITS WEST BANK.

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as stage after stage of the steep and rugged road is covered, and after trudging a distance of perhaps fifteen English miles, a general halt is called for the consumption of the frugal midday meal, a *bento* of cold rice and vegetables that each man has brought with him from home, packed in bamboo leaves by loving hands, and palatable to lusty fellows whose days are spent in toil in the open and their nights in sleep amid the invigorating air of pine-clad mountain slopes. By nightfall the group, with the dust of travel already thick on white jackets that were spotless when donned above the farmers' ordinary blue habiliments in the morning, draws near the appointed resting-place for the night, and a messenger is met in the outskirts of the town to welcome the visitors, and conduct them to their *yado*. For though they will not individually pay much for their accommodation, there are enough of them to make it well worth the while of an innkeeper to entertain the party as a whole. They will want but one room, and will be by no means exacting either in respect of the quality of their food or of their bedding accommodation.

Day by day, at the rate of perhaps thirty miles, the pilgrims progress toward their goal, but they have to cross wide rivers—happily at this season of the year it is not often that there are freshets to render the passage impossible for the ferry-boats—and here and there are famous *Miyo-jin* shrines to require that a divergence shall be made and prayers said in passing. *Miyo-jin*, literally "spirit of brightness," is an honourable term to apply to a Shinto deity when the precise appellation of the god may not be familiar to the worshipper. The widest stream to be crossed on the high-road, which bears the title of To-kai-do, or Eastern Sea Route, is the Ten-riu, *i.e.* "celestial dragon river," but the Ten-riu is never turbulent, and much more is to be apprehended from the O-I-gawa, the river of the big well, near Shidzuoka, in Suruga province, which is both wide and rapid when the snows are melting in the early summer heat on mighty Fujiyama, not far away.

The pictures that I now have the pleasure to show you [Plate I.] are photographs of the O-I-gawa which I took of the river and vicinity myself in the year 1875, when a camera was in that part of the country something of a curiosity. The bed of the river was then almost dry, but in June and July it at

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times becomes bank full, and at least three-fourths of a mile wide, while houses, cattle, and farm produce of every kind are often to be seen floating out to sea, five miles away, rescue being utterly out of the question so long as the current may remain at the maximum of its strength. A freshet may last from twenty-four hours to three days, during which time traffic had formerly to be suspended.

In another picture I am able to afford you some idea of the way in which travellers got over this stage of their journey in the good old days before the railway was introduced. I was once one of a number of passengers to make the crossing in this fashion, shortly after the waters began a little to subside, and while the pebbles were still rattling as they were being carried along with the stream. The high-sided punts which commonly are used as ferry-boats at this and other large rivers are flexible at bottom, and constructed to yield to the shoals and submerged rocks over which they rub in passing as they are poled across, and this undulatory movement of the floor of the seemingly frail craft that their lives depend on has caused strangers, before now, to feel a trifle uneasy. But, as the boatmen always comfortingly assure you, the dangerous symptom is not to be discerned in the heaving of the floor of the boat, but would consist in its failing to rise, for that would be premonitory of wholesale smash. Accidents, however, are extremely rare.

By this time we will suppose that the pilgrims have passed Maisaka, where the railway now crosses an arm of the sea called Hamana Inlet (I venture to show you something of the bewitching scenery of this region by means of an old copy of a photograph that I took there thirty years ago ; the telegraph line here spans a gorge with deep water a hundred feet below), and the track lies straight before the travellers into Toyohashi, "the bridge of plenty," past a magnificent bronze statue of Kwannon, the goddess of mercy, standing boldly out on the crest of an adjacent hill. The track leads over high land swept by breezes from the Pacific Ocean, where the gravelly paths are flanked by masses of azalea in every variety of tint, carpeting the earth with bloom for miles together. Arrived at Toyohashi, and perchance putting up for the night at the sign of Masuya (the Salmon Trout), they will be offered the use of the inevitable hot bath, which is to them less of a luxury than

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a necessity, and they may be relieved to find from an inscription over the bath-room door that "Cleanliness is next to Godliness," the wonder being less to-day, when all Japanese are English scholars, than it was when I first saw it, who the landlord could have induced to write out this maxim for him in a fair round English hand. The fact was that an Englishman had penned the words on a large sheet of paper in best copy-book style, and the paper had been pasted on a block of *keyaki*, so that it served to guide the native carver's graving tool in cutting the inscription deeply into the wood, lacquer and gilding being applied to perfect the work as a tablet for visitors' admiration. The sentiment, when associated with the *Do-sha* body, is exceedingly appropriate, but it is right to state that, however long and exhausting may have been the day's weary tramp, the pilgrims invariably tub before retiring for the night. Masuya was famous in my time for the liberality and excellence of its *table d'hôte*—native fare, of course,—and I hope that the hostelry still flourishes. Many a night have I been awakened when under its roof by the clink, clink of tiny tobacco-pipes on the braziers in the adjoining room, the result of one or more of the pilgrims having risen betimes to enjoy *ippuku*, a "dose" or two of tobacco, and I fear that my feelings were not always in harmony with the objects of my immediate neighbours, but time is apt to mellow all our recollections, and I have not a word to say to-day against the pilgrims or their aims. My main trouble was that they journeyed in such prodigious numbers as to fill the inns to overflowing, and were such uncommonly early risers, in addition to being late comers—getting under way long before daylight, so as to have the cool of the day for their walk—that for their fellow guests sleep was hard to obtain.

From Toyohashi, another name for which is Yoshida, "the good rice field," the most pleasant route to Isé is by water, and it was the habit of the *Do-sha* to start before dawn, so that if the wind should hold good they might fetch Yamada before dark the same night. A glance at the rough chart here shown may serve to indicate sufficiently the relative positions of the places referred to. For twenty-three miles the junk's course lay parallel to the coast of the long promontory of Tawara, sheltered by the land from ocean gales, which are at times

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somewhat severe in the spring, and on the vessel reaching Cape I-riyo-ko, a few miles of comparatively open sea, studded with islets, lay between her and O-Minato, the harbour close to the town of Yamada. As the crow flies, the whole distance from Toyohashi across is just forty miles. On going ashore the traveller finds no lack of accommodation, for the chief occupation of the good people of Yamada and neighbouring towns is the making of due provision for the wants—particularly in the spring and early summer, but more or less all the year round—of an influx of *Ise Mairi no O Kata*, which is a more civil term than *Do-sha* to apply to customers before their faces.

But whether it be that the devotees have made their way to Isé by rail or by junk, they will be early about the next morning to say their prayers at the shrines that they have journeyed so far to visit, and they will be observed in groups at the entrance-gate of the Geku (lit. "outer temple"), which is that just to the south of the town of Yamada, the Naiku, or inner temple, being three and a half miles away. An immense *tori-i* (bird-perch) stands at the end of the broad and well-kept path leading to extensive grounds, which are spacious enough to include hills and valleys, rivulets and cascades, and deep umbrageous groves of camphor and cryptomeria, every stem a stately monument of the Shinto faith that finds its highest expression in reverence for the forces of nature, and we see on either hand moss-laden stone bridges and embankments, and strongly built storehouses that have weathered the storms of many decades, half hidden among the luxuriant foliage of the silent woods. As we passed within the gates we saw the pilgrims who had already done reverence joyfully receiving from the hands of the *kannushi* their *harai*, to which are ascribed talismanic properties, apart from the evidence they afford of the owner's having performed the journey to the holy places. In former days the *harai* were recognised as passports from one province to another. The term signifies "to drive off, or sweep away," and its application to the offences, great and small, knowingly or unwittingly committed, of the individual or the household will readily be understood. Sometimes the word is represented by a character meaning a knee-pad, and the derivation is then a little obscure, save that the *harai* is to be regarded more as a protection than as an indulgence. It actually takes

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the form of a small envelope, or paper box, containing shavings or chips of the wands used by the Isé priests at those half-yearly festivals held to purify the nation in general from the sins of the preceding six months. On one side of the little receptacle, or reliquary, appear the letters *Dai-Shin-Gu*, that is "Great Deity's temple," and on the reverse the name of the *kannushi*, *i.e.* minister of the Shinto faith, who supplied this evil-repelling charm. It was the custom for the devotee to tie the *harai* under the broad brim of his hat, immediately over the forehead, to preserve it from rain, when setting out on the return journey, and on arriving home the sacred relic was at once transferred to the *kami-dana*, or gods'-shelf, which is to be found in every Japanese house, and which carries a model of a Shinto shrine, decked out with tickets on which are inscribed the names of the immortals, never omitting Ten-sho-dai-jin, the Sun-goddess, who is the presiding deity at the Naiku shrine. In Japanese mythology the sun, it will be observed, is feminine. The Isé *harai* are now procurable only at Isé itself, or of some duly accredited agent of the *kannushi* in charge of the shrines, but at one time the "tickets" were hawked about, a practice that is to-day strictly prohibited. The custom was interdicted from the time that the Gregorian calendar was introduced, it having been customary down to that period to sell the ecclesiastical almanacks, on which the farmers set much store, together with the *harai*, at the price of an *ichibu*—a small oblong coin now known only to collectors—for the two.

Continuing the walk along a fine broad roadway, edged with granite blocks, one passes under a second grand archway of the *tori-i* pattern, and at the end of half a mile or so a sudden stop is put to farther progress by the stout wooden fence of the Geku outer courtyard. The gate before us is partly screened by a "bird-perch," and has itself a thatched roof, a curtain bearing the imperial crest being drawn in front of it to signify that only the privileged ones of the imperial house may pass beyond this barrier. But a good view of the inner courtyards may be obtained from the mound at the side, on which a visitor is, in the photograph, seen to be standing.

A melancholy interest attaches to this curtain, in that a Minister of State, then on a visit from Tokio, is said to have somewhat thoughtlessly and irreverently raised the corner of it

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with his walking-stick so as to procure a peep at what lay beyond. The act had been observed by a fanatic, who subsequently journeyed to Tokio expressly to execute the vengeance of the gods on the offending Viscount Mori, who had represented his country abroad with conspicuous success. The excuse for his crime tendered by the assassin was that the spirits of the national ancestors had been insulted.

From the thatched gateway to the entrance of the next enclosure is just 33 yards, and 30 yards farther on is a third gate, which opens on the innermost courtyard of all, that which holds the *Sho-den*, the "real abode" of the gods. This last enclosure is nearly square, 131 feet by 134 feet, the Sho-den standing back some 80 feet from the entrance. It is a tiny building, this holy of holies, with a frontage of not more than 34 feet, and only 18 feet from front to back, standing on a raised platform six feet above the ground level, and approached by a flight of nine steps, 15 feet wide. A three-feet balcony, with a low balustrade, runs around the building, and the wood used in its construction has simply been planed, and is uncontaminated by paint or lacquer of any kind—emblematical in its severe simplicity of the pure Shinto doctrine, which is averse to mere show or adornment of any description. In this bare wooden structure are preserved the precious relics, in plain wooden boxes, of a religion which has its roots in a dim and distant past, long prior to even the birth of Buddhism. The mirror which, according to accepted tradition, descended from Ten-Sho-dai-jin herself is retained at the Naiku shrine, and thither must the pilgrims wend their way when they have paid their respects to the Food-goddess who is supreme at the Geku. But the description already given of the approaches and of the dimensions of the Sho-den at the Geku apply equally to the Naiku, the main characteristics being identical, and the devotees will complete their round of visits by making the journey to the seashore, towards Toba, where there is a small cavern 40 yards from high-water mark, in which the Sun-goddess once hid herself, in pique, and had to be tempted forth by one of the gods holding up a mirror before the entrance, for while the Shining One was in retreat the world, of course, was dark.

The mirror, sword, and jewel constitute the heirlooms of the

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imperial dynasty, and have been treasured at Isé since the year B.C. 4, when they were placed there for safe-keeping by the Emperor Sui-nin; but the Geku temple seems to have been established in its present form in A.D. 478, during the reign of the Mikado Yuriaku. At all events, the existing structures are exact copies of those originally set up at Isé, and which have simply been renewed at regular intervals from that time down to the present Emperor's reign. It has been said of Shintoism that, "with its absence of a ritual, of doctrinal teaching, and of definite objects of worship, it is rather a system than a religion." Further, "that little is known of it that would give it the character of a religion as understood by Western nations." By the Japanese themselves it would seem that Shintoism is esteemed more as a cult than as a religion. It is based on the principle of ancestor worship, but it concerns itself, as one Japanese writer has said, "more with the affairs of this world than with those of the next." In 1899 the officials of the Isé shrines took steps, indeed, to define Shintoism as "merely a mechanism for keeping generations in touch with generations, and for preserving the continuity of the nation's veneration for its ancestors." It might not hope to stand as a religion, but as the embodiment of a national sentiment. On this basis there would seem to be no valid reason why any of his Majesty's loyal subjects, whatever may be their religious convictions—and under the Japanese Constitution perfect freedom of belief is guaranteed—should not participate in Shinto ceremonies.

There were in Japan, at the last census, 163,871 Shinto temples, with 16,093 ministers attached thereto, and 18,791,362 followers, out of a total population of 48¼ millions.

An admirable exposition of the relationship of Shintoism to Buddhism is given by Baron Suyematsu in his "Risen Sun," to the effect that, broadly speaking, matters relative to temporal affairs belong to the sphere of Shintoism, and those relating to spiritual matters to the sphere of Buddhism. The spirit of Shintoism is clean and bright, whilst that of Buddhism is gloomy and dark. Hence religious services which it is fitting should be pathetic in character are performed by Buddhist priests, and those which are to be cheerful by the ministers of Shinto. Funeral rites and memorial services for the dead are undertaken by the former, but the celebration of happy events, such as

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marriages, by the latter. The essence of Shintoism is purity of life and conscience. There is an old poem, attributed to Sugiwara Michizane, which runs, "So long as a man's mind is in accord with the way of truth, the gods will guard him though he may not pray." A very real connection was shown to exist between Isé and the thoughts and aspirations of the Japanese people when the fleet made a special call in Isé Bay on its triumphant return from the victory of the Sea of Japan at the close of 1905. The object in view was the performance of the duty of thanksgiving to the national deities in recognition of the success that had attended the arms of Japan in the conflict with one of the great Powers of the Occident. The combined squadrons, under Admiral Togo, arrived on the 14th of October, and lay off Yamada. Both the Geku and the Naiku were visited, and the ritual was most impressive in its solemnity, devoid of all ostentation. The following month the Emperor himself went to Isé by railway and worshipped at the Naiku shrine, reading in the privacy of the Sho-den an address which he had himself prepared, and the gist of which, it was understood, was to convey to the spirits of the imperial ancestors the glad tidings of the conclusion of peace.

It is a rare thing for the sovereign to visit the shrines in person, but it is recorded that when Japan's independence was threatened by the despatch of the first of Kublai Khan's terrible armadas, six hundred and thirty-two years ago, the Emperor Kameyama went to Isé and prayed very earnestly for the intervention of the gods in support of the nation's defenders, and the defeat and dispersal of the Mongol fleet, in 1274, off Tsushima, is inseparably connected in the minds of the country people with the Emperor Kameyama's devotions.

At present the "lord guardian of the great shrine of Isé" is Prince Kuninori Kaya, of the Kaya imperial family, a brother of the Prince Kuni, who was with General Kuroki throughout the late war.

The very atmosphere of Isé seems to be saturated with the traditions of that remote age when the conquering Jimmu Tenno forced his way from the south to settle himself in Yamato, on territory adjacent to that which is revered as the birthplace of the national faith, term it a cult or a religion as we may. It was to Isé that the founder of the imperial dynasty

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came to set up his ecclesiastical headquarters, so to speak, while his military camp was near to Nara. Of his voyage from Kiushiu to the shores of Central Japan we know but little, save that he landed at Naniwa, which is to-day named Osaka, and that he soon afterwards extended his sway over much of the Kwanto region.

But of his sojourn in Kiushiu there is more direct evidence, perhaps, particularly in the vicinity of Kagoshima in Satsuma and in the province of Hiuga that adjoins it. To that I may be permitted, for a few minutes only, to invite your attention. We shall then understand, to some extent, how profound is the veneration felt throughout Japan for the traditions that surround the throne, and why the people, to a very appreciable degree, still cling to the theory of that supernatural origin which was of old claimed for the imperial dynasty which has occupied that throne for over twenty-seven centuries.

If we imagine ourselves to have reached Kagoshima, aboard one of the Osaka Sho-sen Kaisha's mail steamers—this company controls the major part of the coastwise service—we shall perceive, from the anchorage, if the day be fine, the twin peaks of Kiri-shima Yama boldly uprearing their crests some twenty-five miles away to the north-east. Their height is, roughly, 5400 feet above sea-level, and if we land at the village of Hama-no-ichi (the market on the beach), we shall find a road that leads to the base of the mountain. Its name, if translated, would be "Mount of the Misty Isle," and the reference may have been originally to the resemblance that the two peaks have at times to two hills floating in a sea of vapour. There are *kago*, or mountain sedans, for those who cannot undertake a long and trying walk, and at last, after a steady ascent of eleven miles to Taguchi, through Matsunaga, the climb begins in real earnest. Most likely we shall find other pilgrims on the way up or down, for we are now nearing the summit, on which stood, two thousand five hundred years ago, in all its glory, the palace of Takachiho, famed in song and story, the reputed residence for years of Jimmu Tenno, who landed most likely in Shibushi Bay, only a few miles distant to the south-east, in B.C. 660, and dwelt in this part of the country preparatory to undertaking the subjugation of the aborigines. Of the palace on Takachiho there is to-day not a vestige to be found, but it is said that traces are to be

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discerned of the rocks having been levelled as though for its foundations. At one spot, moreover, there is to be seen a pile of stones, arranged altar fashion, on which rests, or rested not many years ago, an ancient sword, 3 feet 6 inches long, thick and broad in the blade, with a massive cylindrical handle, made altogether of bronze, to which vast interest must ever attach, for it is palpably a relic of antiquity, be its true history what it may. Takachiho-miné is otherwise known as East Kirishima-yama, the word *miné* signifying peak. Takachiho is, moreover, the name borne by one of Japan's cruisers, built at Elswick-on-Tyne in 1885, her sister ship being the famous *Naniwa*. The desire is to perpetuate in the navy the names of places of exceptional interest connected with the history of the nation. On the seashore, near Abura-tsu (oil ferry), a little port that is now a place of call for the coasting steamers, is a cavern containing a small Shinto temple, palpably of great age, dedicated to Udo, father of Jimmu Tenno, and supposed to have been erected in the early years of the dynasty. Hiuga and Satsuma are rich in their associations with the ancestors of the imperial family, there being several tombs (*misasaki*) which are supposed to be the burial-places of Jimmu Tenno's immediate relatives. Among them is the grave of Ninigi-no-Mikoto, near Mukoda, twenty miles north of Kagoshima. Ancient arrow-heads, similar to those of the forked (*mata*) type—like Bansho spears—of which photographs were shown in connection with Miss Scidmore's paper at the Society's meeting in March, 1904, have been discovered on the crest of Takachiho, with other traces of occupation at some remote period, and whatever may be the degree of credence rightly belonging to the myths which surround the very earliest periods of Japanese history, we seem to have, in the noble traditions of Takachiho and Kirishima-yama, links with the past that are almost tangible, and of surpassing interest to students. It is supposed that when Jimmu Tenno set out for Central Japan, he and his warriors left their families for the time in Kiushiu, in or near the palace, and when regarded in this light it is not wonderful that the province of Hiuga should be fruitful of stories of these militant forefathers of the Yamato people. It is not practicable, within the limits of a short essay, to do more than touch the fringe of a subject that possesses abundant charms for the scientific investigator, and my hope is that some one better

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qualified than myself will find an opportunity to make it the basis of genuine research.

After the Paper the Chairman invited any lady or gentleman present to discuss any part of a paper which had had the exceptional merit of being concise, yet replete with information, and had a personal flavour which always added a charming freshness.

Mr. HARDING SMITH (*Member of Council, J.S.*) said he would like to ask the lecturer as to whether it were on the coast of Isé that there existed two celebrated rocks standing off the shore, wreathed round with islands, or was he thinking of some other place? He had seen several Japanese prints of a place which he had always understood was on the shores of Isé, and that these islands stood out in the sea, but were connected with the mainland at low water.

Mr. MORRIS, M.J.S., said that was perfectly correct. There were a number of islands off the coast which might be described as landmarks. Two of these were connected with the mainland by a rope and had a history not clearly defined, but they were no doubt in some way associated with the worship of the shrines. He was unable, however, to discover clearly their precise relation to the Shinto shrines.

Mr. PLATT, M.J.S., said, as he had arrived late, he had not heard the whole of the lecture, so did not know whether one point had been touched upon by Mr. Morris about which he would like to ask a question. He had himself been to Isé, and he believed that there was a superstition that the moon was supposed to shine at night right between two rocks in the sea. He did not know whether it were a coincidence, but when he was there this actually happened; the moon was seen shining absolutely between the rocks. He would like to ask, however, if there were anything known about this superstition.

Mr. MORRIS said he had heard of such a superstition which went far back into tradition, but he could throw no definite light upon the subject.

Mr. NEILL, M.J.S., asked at what point of the compass Isé was situated, especially in regard to Yokohama, to which question Mr. Morris replied that it was on the main island of Nippon, and was as nearly as possible one hundred and seventy miles in a straight line from Yokohama, and, roughly speaking, midway between it and Kobé.

Mr. NEILL asked whether it were on the Inland Sea?

Mr. MORRIS said no, it was facing the Pacific. Properly speaking, one passed Isé about eighteen hours after leaving Yokohama on the east coast.

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The CHAIRMAN said that he noticed that the lecturer had made no reference to the fascination these shrines exercised on the younger portion of the population; he knew that until quite recently it was no uncommon thing for boys to abscond from their apprenticeships in order to make this pilgrimage, as they understood that they would have no success in life if they did not do so, and it became the custom that they should receive no pain or penalty for so doing, as it was considered right. The estimation in which the shrine was held was proven by the fact that although at the time the assassin of the Viscount Mori, mentioned by the lecturer, was killed on the spot, since that time he was regarded as a saint. The lecturer had also said but little about the mirror. He wondered whether he had been privileged to see this, or the cases in which it was enfolded? It was regarded with such veneration that it was encased in a bag made of the finest silk procurable, and as each bag wore out another was placed on the outside, so, tradition said, the mirror was encased in an enormous number of bags. He further believed that one of the temples at Isé was dedicated to a one-eyed dragon, who was said to have the power of bringing rain to the country. After saying how interested he had been in hearing what the lecturer had to say about the way in which the word *San* was used—as a mark of esteem to a superior, and its other applications.—Mr. Huish concluded by proposing a Vote of Thanks, which he said he would be glad if some one would second.

Mr. NEILL was very pleased to have the opportunity of seconding the Vote of Thanks. The lecture had been very instructive to any one who, like himself, had not visited that part of the country.

The CHAIRMAN then gave the Vote of Thanks on the part of the Meeting to Mr. Morris, who thanked every one most sincerely for their appreciation, but wished he had had more time in which to have been able to work out his subject more fully.

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THE

EIGHTY-EIGHTH ORDINARY MEETING,

(SIXTH OF THE FIFTEENTH SESSION,)

APRIL 11TH, 1906.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, London.*]

The Chair was taken at 8.30 P.M. by Mr. CHARLES HOLME, F.L.S., *Chairman of Council, J.S.*, when a Paper on "BUDDHISM AS WE FIND IT IN JAPAN," by Professor TAKAKUSU, M.A., LITT.D., PH.D., M.J.S., was read by Mr. WILSON CREWDSON, *Hon. Secretary, J.S.*

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the meeting, said that the Paper about to be read had been communicated by Prof. Takakusu, who was a very learned man, so doubtless those present would hear much that was new. The subject of Buddhism in Japan was interesting on account of the effect it had on the morals and character of the people, and all that we could learn as to the source of its action would be of advantage.

Before reading the Paper, Mr. WILSON CREWDSON remarked that he thought, when printed in the *Transactions*, the Paper would be found to be one of the most important ever read before the Society. He was glad to find that Prof. Takakusu had put the matter very simply.

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BUDDHISM AS WE FIND IT IN JAPAN.

By PROFESSOR TAKAKUSU, M.A., LITT.D., PH.D., M.J.S.

THE religion of Japan, originating at the heart of family life, was an essential part of the home organisation, and was inspired by love, and not, as in some other cases, by fear, of the dead. The father of the family, while alive, is respected and loved by its members, and when he passes away, although they realise his death, they cannot think that the spirit that loved them so much has left them altogether, and since ordinary human intercourse is no longer possible, they give expression to their affection in worship. They continue to regard the spirit as living, and believe that it is guiding them daily. If any important event happens in the family, they will not fail to inform their ancestor of it, in addition to their daily worship. This custom gradually grew into a family religion, and developed a worship of the father of fathers, that is, the great ancestor.

The domestic religion which thus originated gave rise to the clan religion, having the ancestor of the clan as its object of worship. From this in turn was evolved a religion of the community. It is quite natural in a society that has the family, and not the individual, as its unit, that the ancestor of the Imperial family should be recognised as the centre of the national cult, or state religion.

The ceremonial observance of the state religion is modelled upon that of the family religion. As the religious head of the family is the living paterfamilias, so the ruling Mikado is the religious head of the state. National events will be reported, national prayers and thanksgivings offered by the Emperor at the shrine of the Imperial ancestor, as if the latter were still alive.

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This form of Shinto survives to-day simply as a state ceremonial, almost devoid of religious character. Observance of the ceremonial, therefore, does not at all interfere with one's own belief in another form of religion. Shinto as the family religion is to-day almost a thing of the past, though the principles it taught remain still as the ethics of the social life of Japan.

When Confucianism, the ethical religion of China, was introduced, about 404 A.D.,[1] the Japanese did not find in it anything antagonistic to their own ideas, which were well systematised in the new teaching. Only in one point Confucianism introduced a new conception of duty, and it was in the relation between sovereign and subjects. According to the Japanese ideas, the ancestor of the sovereign is the beloved master of our ancestors, just as the ruling Mikado is our master. The 121 generations of the Imperial lines have ruled over perhaps almost as many generations of our ancestors, ever discharging their duties toward each other.

Thus the relation between ruler and subjects has remained fixed and unchangeable from time immemorial, constituting a natural tie which can in no way be severed. In fact, this forms the central idea of the national ethics. In China, however, things are quite different. The Confucian system of ethics certainly teaches loyalty towards the sovereign, but with the proviso that a sovereign who does not behave as a sovereign should be dethroned and replaced by another. A root idea of Confucianism is that a ruler who is not a fit ruler cannot rightly compel obedience from his subjects, and this idea is more clearly expressed by Mencius, a later teacher than Confucius.

With the exception of this root difference the ethical principles of the Japanese and the Chinese are in perfect agreement, as regards the family and social organisations.

Later on, when Buddhism was brought in from Korea, in 552 A.D., they found its teaching quite foreign to their native ideas. The family, which is the foundation of the society, both in Shintoism and Confucianism, was entirely disregarded by Buddhism, in which Buddha, and not the family ancestor, was the object of worship. A strong resistance to the propagation of the new

[1] This is the verified date. The official date in Japanese history is 284 A.D., but this has been found, from external evidence, to be 120 years too early.

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religion was organised, and ended in an armed struggle. Though Buddhism ultimately won the favour of the throne, the court, and the populace, it was only at the cost of a considerable modification of its teaching. Ancestor-worship, which, strictly speaking, has no place in Buddhism, was freely recognised by the Buddhists, and almost all the national deities were acknowledged as incarnate forms of one or other of the Buddhas. So also the religious rites and prayers which in Shintoism were offered *to* the dead were allowed by the Buddhists, who, however, interpreted them as offered *for*, or *on behalf of*, the dead.

This nice point of difference was gradually blended and harmonised in the mixed religious rites. Shintoism thus lived more than a thousand years side by side with Buddhism, entrusting one half of its religious rites to the Buddhists, for each of the Shinto temples had some Buddhist priests attached.

This mixed system was given up at the beginning of the new Imperial *régime*, and Buddhism has now parted company with Shintoism.

The history of the development of Japanese Buddhism can be divided into three great periods, during which Buddhism, both Korean and Chinese, was modified and naturalised in order to suit the national taste and popular aspiration, and, above all, to adapt itself to the family and social organisations of Japan.

The three periods can be most conveniently put under the following three heads:—

I. Six schools of the southern capital, *i.e.* Nara (552–794 A.D.).
II. Two sects of the Northern capital, *i.e.* Kyōto (794–1186 A.D.).
III. Three sects under the Kamakura Shōgunate (1186–1368 A.D.).

I. *Six Schools of Nara* (552–794 A.D.).

The Nara period was the golden age of Japanese Buddhism, which may be not unfavourably compared with the reign of Asoka in India. Buddhism was professed by all, from the Crown to the farmers. The national rites and festivities were conducted by Buddhist priests. Regular courses of religious lectures were instituted and sanctioned by the sovereign. The constitution promulgated by the Buddhist Empress Suiko

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enjoined to respect Buddha, his law, and his order. The ordination of Buddhist teachers was under the strict supervision of the Court. An authorised monastery and a nunnery (Ko-Kubunji and Kokubunniji) were built in each province, all being dependent on the head monastery of Nara (Tōdaiji). The construction of new ways, bridges, and ferries, the digging of wells and canals in dry districts, the planting of trees by the waysides, and such like, were all planned and executed by Buddhists. In the monastery of Ōsaka (Shitennōji), built by the Crown Prince (Shōtoku), there existed the four great establishments—

(1) A "Bureau of Honour Fund" (Keidenin), for supplying all necessaries to the priestly order.

(2) A "Bureau of Charity Fund" (Hidenin), for supplying food and clothing to the needy.

(3) A "Dispensary" (Seyaknin), for supplying free medicaments to the sick.

(4) A "Free Hospital" (Ryōbyōin).

At one time the Empress Kōmyō prepared a public bath for leprous people, and herself washed them in the bath.

Arts and architecture too reached the climax during the period, chiefly under the influence of Buddhism. Some masterworks of sculpture and paintings are still preserved in Hōriuji, Tōdaiji, and other monasteries. The greatest, if not the best, Japanese workmanship of this period may be seen in the gigantic statue of Buddha in Nara.

The six Buddhist schools which were, one after another, introduced from Korea (one) and from China (five) were of comparatively pure form, and when they were brought in, they were taught and practised as literally as possible.

The six are as follows:—

(*a*) The first of the six schools is the Mādhyamika system of Nāgārjuna, generally called the school of the three sāstras (sanron), from the three texts used in this school. This was introduced and taught by a Korean priest, Huikwan, and is the teaching of the truth by negation, generally misunderstood to be a nihilism by European scholars.

(*b*) The second is the Vijñānamātra school of Vasubandhu, and was introduced by Dōshō, who was a Japanese pupil of Hiuentsang, the famous traveller in India. The tenet is idealism which denies the existence of all the outer world.

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(*c*) The third is the Avatamsaka school, a pantheistic Buddhism taught in the Gandavyūha. This was first taught by a Chinese priest, Tanhsien, and also by an Indian Brahman, Bodhisena. The gigantic statue of Buddha vairocana is the object of worship of this school, and the monastery Tōdaiji was the headquarters specially built for it.

(*d*) The fourth is the Vinaya school that lays stress on the traditional discipline taught in the Vinaya texts. A Chinese priest, Chen-chen, came to Japan with the teaching at the request of the Emperor Shōmu.

(*e*) (*f*) The fifth and the sixth are respectively the Abhidharmakosa school of Vasubandhu, a system of materialistic tendency, and the Santrāntika school taught by Harirarman, a system of Mahayamistic tendency. These two Hīnayānistic schools were introduced with the study of general Buddhism. Though their study is still kept up regularly, they have nevertheless no adherents at all in Japan.

These are the six schools of Nara. Through the medium of these schools, Buddhism rose high in the national esteem and became fruitful in works of utility. Though they thus reflected the original form of Buddhism taught in the blossoming age of India and China, they did not strike root in the heart of the people, because they were, on the one hand, too deep in philosophic speculation, and were, on the other hand, simply a copy of foreign religions. As a religious body they were not much advanced in the way of adapting themselves to the popular taste of the nation, when the Imperial Court, their chief source of glory, was removed to the northern capital, *i.e.* Kyōto, in 794 A.D.

II. *Two Sects of Kyōto* (794–1186 A.D.).

Saichō, while a student in Nara, realised that Buddhism was on the decline, and that a reform was much needed. He left Nara in despair and came to the Mount Hiyei, in Kyōto, to lay foundation to a new Buddhism. The Emperor Kwanmu was at that time devising a new capital in Kyōto, and was much assisted in the scheme by Saichō, who in turn was favoured with an Imperial sanction for founding an Imperial chapel on the Hiyei. Saichō was further sent by the Emperor to China to study Buddhism at the Mount Tientai, where he stayed over

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a year. On his return he introduced the Tientai school, an eclecticism framed in China, out of negativism and idealism.

In addition to this he taught the Tantra (charm) and Dhyāna (meditation) doctrines. The Hiyei now became the new centre of Buddhist learning, a strong rival of Nara, the old centre of Buddhism. At one time there were on the Hiyei more than three thousand cloisters, which were full of young students learning the new Buddhism. This mass of priests got often out of control, and came in companies to Kyōto to appeal to the Court about one thing or another, thus often causing trouble to the throne.

Kūkai, a contemporary of Saichō, went to China in the same year as the latter, and studied in Changan for three years. On his return he chiefly taught what he called the esoteric doctrine, which is a combination of Tantrism (charm) and symbolism, and earnestly promoted the study of Sanskrit.

The headquarters of the Shingon sect, for so his sect was called, was at the Mount Kōya, in Kii province. It being too far from the political centre, he founded a new monastery (Tōji) in Kyōto, which was sanctioned by the Imperial decree as an Imperial chapel.

Kūkai spared no effort in popularizing Buddhism so as to suit the general requirement of the time. His hymns in Japanese, called the *Yeika*, with their poetical beauty, were and still are sung throughout the country. His arrangement of the Japanese alphabet into a song of forty-eight syllables, imparting the religion of Buddha, is still adopted in schools as well as at home in teaching the alphabet (*i.e.* syllabary) to children.

He wrote two popular text-books for schools, one called the "True Counsel" (*Jitsugokyō*), the other, the "Words for the Young" (*Dōjikyō*). These two were the most popular texts for village schools prior to the great Restoration. He went round the country preaching his gospel of peace among the populace, and opened several baths of warm springs and fountains of drinking-water, and constructed large lakes for some dry districts.

These two teachers, Saichō and Kūkai, did everything in assimilating the ancestor-worship to Buddhism. The tablets of the Imperial ancestors were enshrined in authorised chapels, and were daily worshipped by the resident priests.

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All the national deities, whether of the ancestor-worship or of other origins, were freely recognised as incarnate forms of one or other of the Buddhas. Thus the incarnation theory, originating in India, proved very useful to Buddhism in Japan, where the ancestor-worship was exceptionally strong and could in no way be rooted out. It is true, already in the Nara period there were some learned priests, such as Gyōgi, who tried to harmonise the Japanese ideas with Buddhism on the basis of the incarnation theory, but they did not seem to be very successful in it. But in the present period, the two great sects were so successful in this line, that no one, from the Court to the farmers, felt anything odd in the mixed religious service, the foundation of which was laid by the two great teachers. In every Shinto temple (that of the Imperial ancestors as well) there was a Buddhist monastery attached, and the daily service was performed both by Shinto and Buddhist priests.

Henceforward Shintoism and Buddhism lived harmoniously together, and Buddhism was in this way much modified and naturalised, feeling no longer any rival influence from the side of the national cult.

III. *Three Sects under the Kamakura Shōgunate* (1186–1368 A.D.).

When, at the end of the last period, the rivalry between the two Buddhist centres, Nara and Kyōto, reached its height, and the sole object of the sectarian strife seemed to get the favour of the Court, the society at large was now weary of what we might well term the "high church" and began to realise that charms and meditation had little to do with one's own salvation. The people were equally tired of the civil war that was going on for some time in Kyōto and the adjacent provinces. The whole nation was now looking for peace for the society and also for the heart. To meet this requirement of the time, there appeared three great teachers preaching the gospel of peace and salvation to the people.[1]

(1) Hokké sect by Nichiren Nichire, a great philosopher

[1] The Zen school, which teaches Dhyāna (meditation), was influential during the Kamakura period. I omit it here, because it is simply a copy of the Chinese school. Early teachers of this school were Chinese.

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(died 1262), intent on the popularisation of Buddhism. He founded a sect called the "Hokké," based on the text "Lotus of the True Law" (*saddharma-pundarika*).

He saw that the philosophy of this text was too deep for the common people, and preached that the simple repetition of a formula, "Adoration to the Lotus[1] of the True Law" (*Namah saddharma-pundarikāya*), will secure one's own salvation.

Though a tendency for popularising the teaching of the "Lotus of the True Law" existed already in the last period, it was nevertheless Nichiren who invented this new formula to open the gate of salvation to the people. In maintaining the supremacy of his claim over all other religious claims, he provoked almost all the rival sects. The strong character of Nichiren appealed more to the warriors and workmen of the time, while his deep philosophical insight was much admired by his learned contemporaries.

(2) Jōdo sect of Hōnen.[2] Long before Nichiren these were the worshippers of Buddha Amitābha (Lord of Immeasurable Light), who laid stress on the repetition of the formula "Namo 'mitabhā-Buddhāya" (Adoration to the Lord Amitābha).

Already in the last period there were Kūya, who was called the "sage of the town," Genshin of the Mount Hiyei, and Ryōnin, who was called the "Travelling sage," all teaching the doctrine of Amitābha as the only means of salvation to the common people.

To gather the fruit of all the former efforts, there appeared in the Kamakura period a great teacher called Hōnen, who founded the "Pure Land" (Jōdo) sect. He had several pupils of brilliant character, all promoting the gospel of Amitābha, and laying stress chiefly on the repetition of the formula above referred to.

(3) Shinshiu by Shinran. Shinran (died 1282), also a pupil of Hōnen, was one of the greatest social reformers Japan has ever produced. He introduced an epoch-making change in the ecclesiastical organisation and in the teaching of salvation. His sect is called the Shinshiu (the True sect). This reformed Church is so far removed from the original Buddhism in its form and spirit, that no one can recognise the elements taught by Sākyamuni of India.

[1] "Lotus" means the "best part," essence here.

[2] Jōdo = "Pure land, land of bliss," Sukhāvati.

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Indian pundits, who latterly came to Japan, insisted that the True sect was a reformed Brahmanism. European missionaries, too, who saw something of it, noticed much resemblance to the Christian doctrines. If there is a Buddhism most suitable to the social organisation of Japan, it will be this True sect. It is Indian in spirit, but entirely Japanese in form. It knows no superstition; it speaks of no miracles; it admits no charms, no meditation, no prayer, and no offerings, as religious merits. It does not believe in asceticism, and allows family life to the ordained teachers. In fact, there is no difference between teachers and adherents. The reform is complete and perfectly agrees with the national taste. Shinran thus brought into perfection the naturalisation of Buddhism that had been commenced by the able predecessors of the former periods. If the ideas of this great reformer be kept up as pure as possible, it will be this sect that can be professed by the whole nation.

I now proceed to give you some idea of the tenets of the True sect.

The One Buddha as the Object of Devotion.

A peculiar point of Shinran's teaching is that the object of worship is one Buddha only, other Buddhas being entirely ignored. He is Amitābha, Lord of Immeasurable Light and of Infinite Life. He is without a beginning and without an end; infinite in mercy and infinite in knowledge. He is the Lord of all Buddhas, past and present. Out of pity to all beings, he made a vow that he would redeem all that came to him, and went through all sufferings in order to fulfil that vow. Through him alone one can be saved. Beside him there is no Buddha to save one, and accordingly they are not to be worshipped. Not even Sakyāmuni, the founder of Buddhism, is allowed to be worshipped, nor the future Buddha Maitreya, nor any Bodhisattvas, nor gods.

Before the Lord Amitābha all believers are of equal standing, not excepting even the teacher Shinran himself. Shinran enjoined his followers not to regard him as their teacher, but as their co-religionist, or fellow-believer, for he had no pupils of his own on earth. "All are disciples of the Lord Amitābha." "Not by priesthood," said Rennyo, the eighth

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generation from Shinran, "not by asceticism, but by faith alone one will be saved. Through faith and faith alone one can live in his Light. He is ignorant who, knowing the whole sacred literature, does not know of the faith; he is learned who, unable to read even a syllable, has faith in him. All the people, high and low, learned and ignorant, priests and laymen alike, enjoy an equal right before the Lord."

FAITH.

Any efforts for acquiring religious merits must be abandoned. Whatever good one may accumulate will bear fruit of itself on earth, but one must not depend on it as a means of securing salvation, for one's own salvation is only attained through the power of Amitābha, but never by one's own power. Thus abandoning all thoughts of self-work, one should simply rely on the merciful Lord, who at once extends his light over such pious believers. Sakeyamuni's famous instructions, "Work out your own salvation," is therefore entirely ignored, nay, forbidden in this True sect. True it is that this sect too uses the formula "Namo 'mitābha-Buddhaya" (Adoration to Buddha Amitābha), taught by all preceding teachers; but this formula, the repetition of which is the means of salvation in other sects, is used simply as a token of thanksgiving in Shinran's teaching.

The work of salvation is thus dependent on Amitābha, and what we have to do is only to believe in him. Sacrifice in any form is of no use. Asceticism has nothing to do with the salvation. Any prayer, whether offered in words or in formula, is forbidden, for faith is the greatest of prayers. Prayers to any other Buddhas or gods are out of question. Those of Amitābha are equally unlawful. The True sect never prays for blessing, how much less for rain, for harvest, for recovery of health, or such like? Even in prayer one must not rely on one's own effort.

Charity is admitted as institutionally important, but it has nothing to do with one's own religious merits. In fact, Shinran admits nothing as a help for salvation. The trace of self-salvation of the original Buddhism is no more recognisable in Shinran's tenets.

The religion of the intellect striving after the perfect Bodhi

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(knowledge) is now superseded by the religion of the heart relying on a personal love of Amitābha. But Bodhi, too, will be attained through faith. Faith is thus all in all, and is found in the loss of self in others, *i.e.* in Amitābha.

Transmigration, especially of the past, is not denied, but it is only secondary, while a future eternity of redeemed life is regarded essential. "As soon as we become aware of the boundless mercy of the Lord, we begin to live with him in the Pure Land, though we are still sinners of the worlds."

Not Idolatry.

Generally speaking, it is wrong to call Buddhism an idolatry. In this sect, especially, it is understood clearly that it is not worshipping an idol. Shinran said, "In our sect, a picture of Buddha is regarded to be more proper to be used than a wooden or stone image, while the written name of Buddha is still more proper to be used than a picture. More proper to be had, however, is the *faith* in him than to have even the written name of Buddha." Anything that indicates Amitābha, though now used in the temples and private shrines, is not an essential part of the teaching.

Family Life.

Family life, which is the foundation of the social organisation of Japan, was admitted in this sect as necessary in the case of teachers as well as laymen.

Shinran himself got married, and handed his teaching down to his posterity. The present prelate of the sect is the twenty-second generation from him.

Asceticism of Buddhism, which was against the Japanese idea of the family system, was thus once for all done away with, and in this way Buddhism was rescued from remaining for ever as a foreign religion, and was now perfectly reconciled to the Japanese society.

Ancestor-worship.

As I said before, the religious rites that were offered *to* the dead in Shinto were gradually admitted by the Buddhists, who, however, interpreted them to be meant *for* the dead. But in the

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True sect it is not allowed to do anything for one's own salvation; how much less, then, for another's help?

Strictly speaking, this sect does not allow the worship of ancestors, for there is only one Buddha that is to be worshipped.

True it is that a religious service is held every year on the day of death of one's father or forefathers, but the motive is simply to keep up the memory of one's ancestors, and in such cases the service is not meant *to* the dead, nor is it offered *for* or *on behalf of* the dead. The service is an ordinary thanksgiving meeting, consisting of the singing of hymns, the reading of a text, a sermon, and a talk over the life of the dead. But this last is not a necessary part of the meeting.

Such a memorial service is, perhaps, a concession to the ancestor worship on the part of the founder, yet its interpretation is quite different from that of the other sects.

THE LAWS OF THE SOVEREIGN.

The True sect enjoins all the followers to obey the laws of the sovereign and of the nation. As the faith in the Lord is essential in the spiritual side of the teaching, so the loyalty to the sovereign is important in the institutional side of the teaching. The twofold teaching is often compared with the two wheels of a waggon, or with the two wings of a bird; either side will be imperfect without the other. In this way the life of a faithful Buddhist is identified with that of a loyal subject of the sovereign. "He will be good who is touched by the light of the Lord." A pious Buddhist is therefore expected naturally to conform to the social sanction of the nation.

THE LAND OF BLISS, *i.e.* THE PURE LAND.

One who has a perfect faith in Amitābha is destined to become a Buddha equal to the Saviour, and let this suffice at present, for a further explanation means reproducing an unnecessary tale of paradise which might have been useful at one time or another. The sacred books which refer to the Pure Land themselves admit that the descriptions of the land of the Buddha are conventional, for the state of Buddha is beyond one's imagination.

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They also speak of a purgatory of varied descriptions, but this may be regarded like that told of by a poet like Dante. We need not consider these points very seriously, for no true Buddhist will hold that there exists a special place of Bliss, or Hades. For it is said in one of the sacred books of this sect, "Wherever Buddha's teaching reaches, a distant village or a hilly region alike, will be transformed. All under heaven will be harmonious and tranquil. The sun and moon will be ever bright, the wind and rain will come seasonably, no evil or misfortunes will befall the inhabitants. The nation will be prosperous, and the people will be in peace. Arms will be of no more use. Every one will exalt virtue, promote humanity, and strive to cultivate propriety and moderation."

So far about the tenets of the True sect (Shinshin). Now you will see that the perfectly Japanised Buddhism is not very far from your religion. To reach this stage we spent nearly eight hundred years (552–1282), and an experience of a further six hundred years has added nothing new to the reformed teaching. In this respect the Japanese may be said to have been very slow and conservative all the way through.

Now let me add a few words; then I have done. As to the origin of the worship of Amitābha, everything is still enshrouded in mist. This is very different from the rest of Buddhism, and seems in several respects to be foreign to the original Buddhism. Max Müller thought that a trace of such worship might be sought in the old Brahmanic lore, but this has not been taken up very seriously since he expressed the idea. The Rev. Mr. Beal found some Christian ideas in Asvaghosa's philosophy, which recognises, in one part, the faith in Amitābha as a means of salvation. Another hypothesis is possible, that it is a sort of eclecticism framed out of Mardeism and Buddhism, since it is a well-known fact that, in the second and third centuries after Christ, there were such tendencies in some learned circles.

Whether it is Brahmanic, or Christian, or eclectic, so much is true that the teaching of the "True sect" bears a resemblance to Christianity.

If the two great religions, Buddhism and Christianity, ever met on friendly terms, as Professor Anesaki hopes, it will be in Japan, for the soil is well prepared by the True sect. Without knowing the existence of this sect, Schopenhauer maintained a

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profound agreement between Christianity and Buddhism. The points in which the two are maintained as diametrically contradictory disappear at once when we compare the True sect with Christianity.

While the Buddhist gospel ignores a personal god, the Christian gospel proclaims him.[1] One teaches self-salvation assisted by the Saviour; the other preaches salvation through Christ alone, seconded by one's prayers and efforts. One asserts a past eternity of transmigration that must end in Nirvana; the other ignores the past, but clings to a future eternity of personal redeemed life. As regards these differences, the True sect, as I said before, agrees with Christianity rather than with the original Buddhism.

Is it indeed a devil's imitation of the work of God, as Francis Xavier imagined? It is, anyhow, highly dramatic to find this kindred teaching in the far-off islands of the Mikado. A study of this particular sect will not be useless, since "the two great world-religions, which first met in the Pacific—one rolling eastwards from the Ganges, the other westwards from the Jordan,—have now, at the dawn of the twentieth century, begun a new act in a drama which only time can unroll."

The CHAIRMAN expressed the gratification which all present must have felt on hearing the lecture, which had placed the much-misunderstood religion of Japan before them very simply.

He called for a discussion.

Mr. ALFRED EAST, A.R.A. (*Member of Council, J.S.*), expressed his thanks to the reader of the paper. He had been much interested in hearing of the development of religion in Japan from the earliest time, and its effect upon the art of that country. In the temples of Nara traces of Buddhism were to be found. He thought there were many present who could speak more to the purpose than himself upon the subject, and he could only express his gratitude to the author of the paper.

Mr. WILSON CREWDSON said there was a curious reference to Christianity in Japan in the writings of one of the governors of Decima, a Dutchman of the name of M——, who tried to investigate why the Jesuits and missionaries had made such extraordinary progress. He summarises by saying that one of the apostles had gone to India, and

[1] See Mr. Edmund's "Buddhist and Christian Gospels," p. 51. Much of his wording is borrowed in the concluding part of this paper.

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that a disciple had gone to Japan and introduced Christianity there, which he thought accounted for the readiness of the Japanese to accept the teaching of the Jesuits. Mr. Crewdson had not been able to find any verification of the statement of this governor of Decima, but various things pointed to an influence of the kind—for instance, the resemblance of the Buddhist vestments to those used in the Christian Church. He hoped some Japanese gentleman present could tell them if there was any authority for the report.

Mr. ALFRED EAST said it might interest the members to know of a statue to Marco Polo existing in a Buddhist church, which showed respect for the faith which had been introduced into the country.

Mr. D. L. KELLEKER (*Visitor*) said, with reference to the suggestion of the Lecturer that the Christian religion and the Buddhist religion might find a common meeting-ground: since the Christian code was rigid and the Buddhist code was rigid, how was it possible that a compromise could be brought about—what would the learned lecturer suggest? Could some one answer this question?

The CHAIRMAN replied that they could not discuss the relative merits of the two religions, Buddhism and Christianity, but would rather seek to trace what value Buddhism had had on the character of the Japanese. There was that wonderful trait of devotion to their country so recently shown, and the beautiful trait of thoroughness which was exhibited in so many of their works of art. These and other characteristics of the Japanese naturally led us to wish to know how much may be traced to the influence of their religion, for we see that religion has much to do with the character of the people. It is pleasanter to try to see what is beautiful in their religion rather than to discover what we cannot believe in. He thought Professor Takakusu had placed the character of the Japanese Buddhist so simply before them that they could be well satisfied.

Mr. HARDING SMITH (*Member of Council, J.S.*) then proposed a Vote of Thanks to Professor Takakusu, and coupled with it the name of their Hon. Secretary, Mr. Wilson Crewdson.

Mr. D'ATH, M.J.S., said he had great pleasure in seconding the Vote of Thanks. After a residence of some thirty years in Japan he knew a little of the country and its people, and he thought that while Buddhism had increased art, it had not done much for the commercial morality of the people. Many lessons had been taught by it, especially the way in which homes were conducted and children trained. He knew middle-class families where the daughters would each take their turn in the kitchen on alternate weeks, then the music lesson, midday meal, and sewing lesson. We might introduce some of these teachings into

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England with advantage. No doubt Buddhism had had a vast influence, but it was different now to what it was a thousand years ago. The elder people still adhere to it, but the younger branches ignore it. No doubt Christianity will gradually take hold of the people, but it will not be our own teaching entirely. The Episcopalian Church show a desire to have their own bishops, their own ministers and churches. No doubt the Japanese look for a certain amount of guidance to Europeans, but the Christian Church in Japan will be conducted by the Japanese themselves.

The Vote of Thanks was passed unanimously.

The Meeting then terminated.

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THE EIGHTY-NINTH ORDINARY MEETING,

(SEVENTH OF THE FIFTEENTH SESSION,)

MAY 9TH, 1906.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, London.*]

Mr. CHARLES HOLME, F.L.S., *Chairman of Council, J.S.*, took the Chair at 8.30 P.M., when a Paper was read by Mr. W. HARDING SMITH, R.B.A., *Member of Council, J.S.*, on "JAPANESE LACQUER."

In opening the Meeting, the CHAIRMAN said the subject of that evening's Paper was a description and history of Japanese lacquer down to the years 1681–1708. The study of lacquer was one of the most difficult of all the various subjects connected with the art of Japan. An old friend of his, a collector of all kinds of Oriental ware, had made a special study of Japanese lacquer for twelve years, and had said that at the end of twelve years he was only just beginning to know something about it. There were only very few who could tell us anything about this subject, but among those few was the Lecturer of that evening, Mr. Harding Smith, one of the most hard-working and useful members of the Japan Society's Council, to whom other members of Council owed many debts of gratitude.

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A DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY OF JAPANESE LACQUER, DOWN TO THE END OF THE GENROKU PERIOD, 1681–1708.

By W. HARDING SMITH, R.B.A., *Member of Council, J.S.*

THE subject of lacquer-work, that most interesting and unique art of Japan, has been treated of so often by those most competent to do so, that some apology is needed for adding another word, especially as there is little or nothing fresh to be said about it. Even Captain Brinkley, in his great work on Japan and China, which contains perhaps the latest mention of lacquer, tells us practically nothing more than we already knew.

Dr. Rein, in the second volume of his work on Japan, has written very exhaustively on the technique of the art, based on his own observations made while superintending the actual process of working, and Connel Quin, in his "Report on the Lacquer Industry of Japan" in 1889, deals with the same subject, not quite so thoroughly; they both give some rather fanciful dates, however, in speaking of the introduction of the art into Japan, but about this I shall speak later on. Other writers, such as Louis Gonse in "l'Art Japonais," and Ernest Hart in 1886, have dealt rather with the æsthetic side of the question, while the Commissioners of the Paris Exhibition in 1900, in "l'Histoire de l'art du Japon," tell us more about the history of the art, and give descriptions and illustrations of well-known examples at the temples, and in the possession of Japanese families. Two papers on lacquers have already been read by members of this Society, one by Mr. E. Hart in 1893, the other by Mr. Tomkinson on "Inro" only, in 1895. I must not omit to mention also the able preface on Lacquer written by the late Mr. E. Gilbertson, for the catalogue of the Exhibition of Lacquer and Metal-work, held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club

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in 1894. The object, therefore, of this present paper will be to try and combine as far as possible the different aims of all these writers in an abbreviated form, while speaking rather more fully about the older styles of lacquer, from the commencement of the art down to the end of the Genroku period, 1681–1708, the time of the fifth Tokugawa Shōgun—Tsunayoshi, generally considered to be the finest period.

I stop here, simply because time will not allow of doing justice to the whole subject in one paper, therefore some limit must be set to it.

It would be impossible, in a paper like this, to attempt to describe in full detail all the processes of lacquering, but as it is a part of the subject which is of great importance, showing as it does the infinite care and painstaking labour which is bestowed on the work, I propose to summarise as briefly as possible the process of making one or two of the more important kinds of lacquer, more especially that all-important part, the groundwork, without which many of the beautiful examples of the art which we see to-day would never have been preserved to us.

I shall commence by briefly describing the nature of lacquer, because so many people speak of it and think of it as a varnish. Now, a varnish consists of some kind of gum—copal, for instance—dissolved in a volatile liquid, which evaporates, leaving behind a film of gum which forms a glaze over the substance to which it is applied. Lacquer is not at all like this; it contains very little gum, and it requires actual polishing to produce a highly glazed surface. Its constituent parts approximately are—urushic acid 85 parts, gum 3 parts, an albuminous substance 2 or 3 parts, and water 9 parts. It is the natural juice or sap of the *Rhus vernicifera*, a tree of the Sumach tribe, obtained by making incisions in the trunk and branches, from which the thick sap exudes. The trees are usually tapped between the age of five and ten years, although sometimes a little is taken from them at the age of three years; this is said to stimulate their growth. This juice, called by the Japanese *urushi*, is scraped off with the point of a bent spatula, and collected into bamboo tubes. When a sufficient quantity has been collected, it is filtered through cotton cloth to strain off dirt, pieces of bark, etc. This then becomes the crude lacquer (*ki-urushi*), which is treated in various

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ways to suit the purpose for which it is intended—sometimes evaporated to get rid of the water, sometimes mixed with varying proportions of perilla oil.

There are various kinds of lacquer also; that from the branches, called *seshimé*, dries more slowly than that from the trunk, but becomes harder afterwards, while the best transparent kind, called *suki urushi*, which is used as a final coating to *nashiji*, is obtained from the oldest trees. The crude lacquer is of a greyish colour at first, but becomes darker by exposure to the light and stirring. It would take too long to enumerate all the varieties of lacquer employed, but a word must be said about the two principal colours used for the groundwork of most objects, even when the entire surface is covered with gold or silver.

These are black, and red. The black is by far the most important, and is prepared in two ways—one by mixing acetate of iron, or acetous protoxide of iron, with the lacquer, and the other by the addition of lamp-black. The former process gives a deep transparent black, which becomes a rich brown like tortoise-shell in course of time, while the opaque ink black never changes. The iron black is probably the older process of the two, and was much used by some of the early lacquerers. TSUCHIDA Soyetsu, of whose work there are several examples here, nearly always used it, and it is very noticeable in many other pieces of really old work, and is a very good test of age. Red lacquer is made by the addition of vermilion for the best, and oxide of iron for inferior work.

Lacquer has one remarkable property which distinguishes it from other like substances; it will only dry within the limit of a certain temperature, about 68° to 80° Fahr., and even then, only in a damp atmosphere; consequently lacquered objects have to be dried in a specially prepared air-tight cupboard called *muro*, made of rough wood kept damp by sponging with water. This peculiarity is explained by the fact that the lacquer is hardened by the action of the albuminous substance on the urushic acid, and the gum, being the uniting element between the two, requires to be kept moist till this is effected.

It possesses also another very useful property—of resisting the action of hot liquids, alcoholic liquids, and most acids. Professor Gowland has told me that at Ōsaka, where he was officially engaged for many years, the tops of the laboratory tables were

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coated with black lacquer, on account of its acid-resisting properties.

Preparation of the Groundwork.

The importance of the groundwork has been already mentioned, and cannot be over-estimated, because by its careful preparation, the otherwise perishable nature of the wooden basis is preserved, and at the same time it effectually prevents the resin from the wood penetrating to the outer decorated surface.

The object to be lacquered, being made of some well-seasoned wood, such as *hinoki* (*Retinispora obtusa*), or *kiri* (*Pawlonia imperialis*),[1] it is carefully smoothed and finished. The first process is to lute or stop every joint, pin-hole, or knot with a paste called *kokuso*, made of rice paste, chopped hemp, cotton wadding, and lacquer. When this is dry, a coat of lacquer is applied all over the surface to fill up the pores of the wood. Then comes the first priming coat of lacquer mixed with wheat flour, equal parts of each. Over this paste is stretched either fine hempen cloth or paper, carefully smoothed down. This being set, it is covered with a layer of *sabi-ko*, *i.e.* burnt clay mixed with lacquer, after which, in due course, comes a layer of *ji-no-ko*, a paste made of ground pottery, lacquer, and rice paste. After four or five more layers of *seshimé* lacquer and *sabi-ko*, the whole surface is ground down quite smooth with whetstone. Then another coat of *sabi-ko*, and another rubbing down with whetstone. After this it is rubbed over with Chinese ink on a cotton-wool pad, and when it has received more coats of lacquer, and has been rubbed down with two kinds of charcoal, it receives two or three coats of black lacquer, and is finally polished with calcined deer-horn and fine whetstone on a cotton cloth, and finished with the same powder and a little oil applied by the finger. I have omitted to say that between each of these processes the piece of lacquer has been put to "dry" in the damp cupboard for periods ranging between twelve and forty-eight hours, and that about thirty different processes have been gone through. This will give some idea of the time and labour necessary for making a fine piece of plain black lacquer, especially when one remembers that twenty to twenty-five days, at least, have been spent in drying alone, and many days devoted to grinding and rubbing as well. When the surface

[1] Many other woods are used, but these chiefly.

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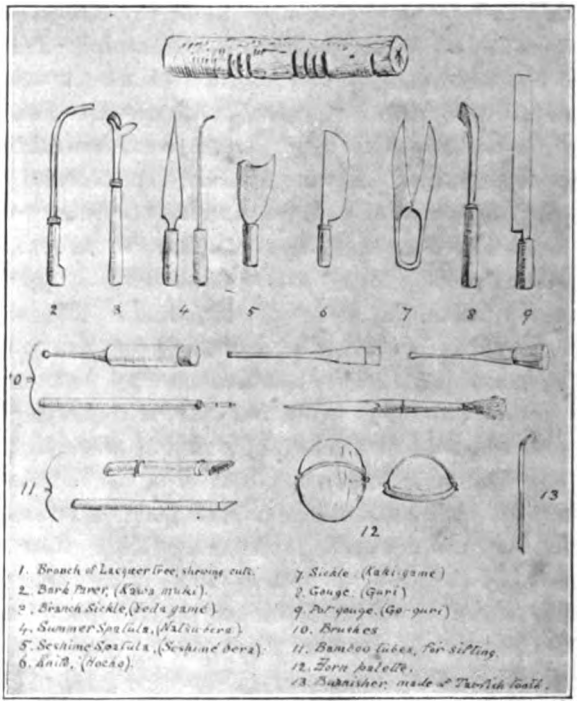
is being prepared as a basis for gold lacquer, some of these final processes are omitted. In the museum at Kew there is a collection of all the tools, implements, and materials used in the lacquer industry, a visit to which will repay any one interested in the subject; but to illustrate the present paper a lantern slide



IMPLEMENTS AND TOOLS USED IN THE LACQUER INDUSTRY.

1. Branch of Lacquer tree (shewing cuts).
2. Bark Parer (*Kawa muki*).
3. Branch Sickle (*Yeda gamé*).
4. Summer Spatula (*Natsu bera*).
5. Seshimé Spatula (*Seshimé bera*).
6. Knife (*Hocho*).
7. Sickle (*Kaki gamé*).
8. Gouge (*Guri*).
9. Pot gouge (*Go guri*).
10. Brushes.
11. Bamboo tubes (for sifting).
12. Horn palette.
13. Burnisher (made of the tooth of Tai-fish).

has been prepared, showing the forms of the most important tools used, both in obtaining the lacquer and in its application.

The work hitherto has been that of the *nuri-mono-shi* (the lacquer artisan), but at this point the lacquer artist, or *makiye-shi*, commences his share of the business, and his work may take perhaps several months in addition. Captain Brinkley very aptly translates this word *makiye-shi* as "an expert who strews

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pictures," from the fact that the earliest method of decoration consisted of sprinkling with gold-dust. This early form of lacquer decoration was called *heijin*.[1] The beautiful gold grounds, called *kin-ji*, and the *nashi-ji*, or pear-skin surface, are produced by sifting gold powder, very fine for the first and coarser for the latter, on to the moist lacquer with which this prepared ground has been covered. These powders are contained in small bamboo tubes or quills for the finest powders, the ends of which are cut diagonally and covered with wire gauze or net of the requisite mesh to secure uniformity in the particles sifted. In *kin-ji* the whole ground is covered evenly with gold-dust, but with *nashi-ji*, which is more largely used than any other ground, little spaces are left between the flakes, and a coating of transparent lacquer is put over the whole, which is then polished. The quality of *nashi-ji* varies greatly both in size and colour; the finest style is that which presents a perfectly even, fine granulated surface, and this is generally found on the older pieces.

Sometimes the *nashi-ji* is distributed in nebulous masses, but this is usually in linings of boxes. Another variety is called *hiramé*, in which the ground particles are not all covered with the lacquer, but appear flush with the surface as bright points of gold. This also varies in size. It is seen sometimes in silver as well. In comparing old and more modern pieces, a great difference is to be noted in the appearance of these two last-mentioned grounds. The old, when viewed at such an angle as to catch the light, will appear pitted and granular from the induration of the lacquer below the level of the gold points, while the more modern will be as smooth as a piece of plate glass.[2]

Time does not admit of mentioning more than one more form of gold ground, but it must not be omitted, as it exceeds all the rest in richness and brilliancy of effect; it is called by some *kirikané*,[3] and by others, *gyobu-nashiji*, but I cannot help thinking that *kirikané* is the more correct, for the other term is not compatible. *Nashi-ji* means "pear skin," and this is well represented by the granulated surface, but the ground in question is better described as "gold paving," or mosaic, as the whole surface, with the exception of the raised decoration, is covered with little squares of gold foil, each one laid on separately. Sometimes, instead of

[1] Flat powder.

[2] See inside of lower incense box, Plate I. (left).

[3] Or *hirakané*.

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the background, the salient points of the landscape or the clouds are covered with this mosaic, and in old specimens this is often mixed with silver.

There is to be seen rarely, on some pieces, generally of very fine quality, a combination of the *nashi-ji* and *hiramé* grounds, the latter being inlaid in large irregular flakes, and I venture to think that this is much more likely to be the true *gyobu-nashiji*. The late Mr. E. Gilbertson, who was a very keen student of the subject, also considered *gyobu* to be a variety of true *nashi-ji*, in which large, irregular-shaped flakes of gold were inserted.

Maki-ye (PICTURE LACQUER).

Although it was my intention to have spoken about several important kinds of lacquer, not included in the term *maki-ye*, or picture lacquer, such as carved and polychrome varieties, I find it is quite impossible within the scope of this paper; so shall confine myself to "picture lacquer" alone—that is to say, to design, executed chiefly in gold and silver dust, with inlays of other metals and materials, as distinguished from more formal patterns, diapers, imitations of wood grain, and curious varieties of surface and manufacture, although these occasionally form part of the artist's scheme.

Maki-ye, a picture lacquer, may be divided into three principal varieties. Flat lacquer (*hira-makiye*), "polished out" lacquer (*togi-dashi*), and lacquer in relief (*taka-makiye*). The first process, which is the oldest, is carried out as follows:—

The design having been drawn on a sheet of thin, specially prepared paper, an outline is traced on the back of it with lacquer, which has been roasted over hot charcoal to prevent it from drying too quickly; the paper is then applied to the article to be decorated, and rubbed on the dry side with a whalebone or wooden spatula. This transfers the outline of wet lacquer to the prepared ground, and a slight dusting of white powder makes it visible. This outline is now filled in with groundwork lacquer applied with a soft brush, and the gold or silver powder is sifted on to it; after this, the superfluous powder is dusted off with a brush made of the winter coat of a white horse, and the box is put to dry in the damp cupboard. When sufficiently hard, it receives a coat of transparent lacquer, which, when dry, is rubbed

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down with camellia-wood charcoal, and then polished in the same manner as I have before described. If further details, such as the veining of leaves, or other additions, have to be made, the same process is gone through again and again, until completed. This transfer process of outline was the old method; the more modern way is to make the outline with white lead.

The process of *togidashi* is practically the same as flat lacquer, but the final process is different, the design being covered up with black lacquer or some dark colour, which is then ground and polished down until enough of the design becomes visible; it is this which gives such a soft effect to the work.

In the raised lacquer, the first processes are similar to flat lacquer, but finely powered camellia-charcoal is used instead of gold-dust; this is to obtain a firm footing for the composition of which the raised parts are made. The first coat over this consists of *sabi-ko*, burnt clay and lacquer, and then the raised portions are built up layer by layer with a mixture of black lacquer, camphor, and powdered charcoal; this, when hard, is polished, and the gold powder applied in the same manner as described for flat lacquer.

Having now described as briefly as possible the method of working the three different kinds of *maki-ye*, some mention must be made of the different inlays which are used. Chief among these is the inlay of gold and silver foil, on gold lacquer ground, giving a very rich effect. Inlays are not so often met with in *hira-makiye*, except mother-of-pearl,[1] which is one of the oldest forms of decoration, and is largely used in raised lacquer as well. It is employed both cut into shapes and in powder, and in this latter form is called *aogai-nuri*. It is a favourite decoration for sword scabbards. Besides pearl shell and awabi shell (*haliotis*) in pieces, sometimes complete little shells are imbedded. The metals lead, pewter, and tin are used side by side with gold and silver, no metal being considered base or common for artistic purposes, and the cool grey tone of these metals greatly enhances the value of the warmer colour of the gold. Sometimes the alloys *shakudo* and *shibuichi* are inlaid in the form of dragons, birds, or figures, and even copper and bronze may be occasionally seen [Plate VIII., No. 3]. In very choice specimens, usually of small size, little flowers in solid silver and gold are

[1] Usually inlaid in black lacquer, and called *raden*.

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sometimes inlaid. Beside these substances, tortoise-shell, coral, agate, malachite, and other stones, ivory and wood, are often met with as inlays, also pottery, and we are told that in the twelfth century even glass was used.

Positive colours are not much resorted to in combination with gold and silver, red and green (the latter generally of a subdued tone) are those chiefly used, both in *taka-makiye* and in *togidashi*, in the latter with a very beautiful effect, produced by sifting very fine gold powder on to it; this catches the light and gives it a "shot" appearance. Yellow and white are more rarely used. There is one kind of work which is very rare—it is called *johana* or *jogahana* lacquer, and is more like painting in lacquer; very little gold is used, but more variety of colour than in any other style.

It must not be imagined that the processes I have endeavoured to describe comprise all the methods of working in lacquer, but only the principal ones. In what I have said, I ought perhaps to have used the past tense instead of the present, for I have tried to describe the old method of working, when time was no object, and before the rush of Western civilization compelled every one, as it does now, to do his work as quickly as possible. The *maki-ye-shi* of to-day has not lost his skill, but he has to work more rapidly and more cheaply, and the result must be detrimental to the art.

HISTORY.

The first point to be settled as to the history of lacquer is whether the lacquer tree was indigenous to Japan, or whether it was introduced from China. This is a very difficult thing to decide. The two men who have given us the most clear information about lacquer, contradict each other flatly. Quin says it grew wild in Japan, Rein says it did not.

There is a legend, that when Yamato-daké-no-mikoto, son of the Emperor Kei-ko (A.D. 71–130), was out hunting one day, he stained his hand with the sap of a branch of lacquer tree, which he had broken off, and finding what a good coating it made, he stained his implements with it, and so discovered the use of lacquer. This story is at least moderate in its assumption of the antiquity of lacquer, for some authors go back much earlier,

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to about the fourth and fifth century B.C. Both Dr. Bushell and Captain Brinkley, the most recent writers on the subject, are of opinion that China was the birthplace of the art. The former, in his excellent handbook of Chinese art, quoting Professor Rein as his authority, says that "the methods and utensils used in Japan are precisely the same as those of China," but at the same time he quotes from a Chinese book, published in the reign of the Emperor Hung Wu, the founder of the Ming Dynasty, in 1387, and among other things it mentions that "during the Sung Dynasty (960–1279) the utensils intended for the Imperial palace were generally made of gold and silver lacquer, with plain uncarved surface." This is apparently the earliest date that can be found for Chinese lacquer, which is curious considering the antiquity to which they attribute many of their arts. (Bronzes are mentioned as early as the third millennium B.C.)

Captain Brinkley, although he is also of opinion that the art was introduced from China, confesses that it must have been very early, for he says, "But as the time of the art's introduction into Japan was pre-historical, the date cannot be fixed accurately. Certainly, however, it was not later than the beginning of the sixth century, and it will probably be right to conclude that, like many other products of civilisation, this also came in the train of Buddhism."

This date appears to be confirmed by a passage in the Nihongi, vol. ii. p. 100, in which the name of a certain "Ani Urushibé no Miyakko," "Ani[1] . . . member of the lacquerers' guild or craft," is mentioned. In the footnote, Mr. Aston (the translator) says, "This is the first mention of lacquer in Japanese literature, and although it indicates that the art was already known, we may safely set aside as later inventions the statements referring it to a much earlier period," etc. Even this is not absolutely conclusive, because he admits it was "already known," the mere fact of the existence of the "craft" proves that. One thing it proves at least, that the art was known in Japan four hundred years earlier than the date mentioned in the Chinese authority quoted above. Of course the word of such an able scholar cannot be questioned, as to this being the first place

[1] "Member" (grade uncertain) of the lacquerers' guild. This rank of *miyakko*, meaning literally "man" or "servant" (in old Japanese), was probably lower than the others mentioned, viz. Omi, Muraji, and Sukuné.

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in which lacquer is mentioned, therefore the "professedly" earlier dates must be dismissed as unauthentic and legendary.

It is somewhat difficult to reconcile conflicting dates in these accounts. We have already heard from one authority that the art was probably known in pre-historical times, yet almost in the same breath he says its introduction could not be later than the beginning of the sixth century, and goes on to say that it probably came over with Buddhism. Now, Buddhism was not introduced into Japan till the middle of the sixth century. MM. Appert and Kinoshita gives A.D. 552 as the first time of its appearance, although it was not really established until 584. So that the art of lacquering would seem to have had the start of Buddhism. I mention these facts to show how hopeless it is to fix any certain date for its inception, or say conclusively whether its provenance be native or foreign. One thing is clear, however, that it was fostered and encouraged by the Buddhists, like many other arts, such as sculpture and painting, for as the Christian Church in Europe, during the middle ages, was perhaps the greatest art patron of the time, adorning her churches with the works of the great masters of architecture, sculpture, and painting, so the Buddhists, with their well-known love for all that was beautiful, decorated their temples with the sculpture, painting, and lacquer-work of their own great artists.

The two earliest existing specimens of lacquer mentioned both by Professor Rein and Mr. Quin are the *kesa-bako*, or scarf-box of Shotoku Taishi, A.D. 572–612, and the sword-scabbard of the Emperor Shōmu 724–748, both preserved in the Todaiji at Nara. But since neither of them are mentioned by the compilers of "l'Histoire de l'Art du Japon" in 1900, nor by Captain Brinkley in 1904, it can only be concluded that these attributions are not authentic. But if the credit of the ownership of the earliest existing piece of lacquer be taken away from Shōtoku, it is at least given to another distinguished Buddhist, for there seems to be little doubt that the earliest authentic piece is the Sutra case made by order of Kobi-Daishi in the ninth century, to contain the rolls of the Shingon Sutra (the Bible of the Sect), brought by him from China, probably about A.D. 806.

This box and another called a jewel-box are both about the same period. The Sutra case is of black lacquer sprinkled with gold in the style called *maki-kin-iro*, with a design of

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karyobin[1] (half women, half birds) amidst floral scrollwork in gold and silver. The jewel-box is of similar style, but decorated with a floral diaper only; both are of flat lacquer (*hira-makiye*), and exhibit too much skill to be the products of a recently founded art. (Both these are preserved in the Ninnaji-temple at Kyōtō.)

The next period in order, that of the ascendancy of the Fujiwara, 889–1185, is noted for the increasing use of gold lacquer and the progress made in its improvement. Lacquer was used for payment of taxes in kind. The Emperor Kwazan, *c.* 985, was himself an amateur lacquerer, and painted a representation of Mount Horai on a writing-box, as well as other designs. During his reign great encouragement was given to the art. Gold grounds (*kin-ji*), *togidashi*, and inlays of mother-of-pearl are used. Some authors quote a passage from the "Genji Monogatari," which was written about this time, in which this latter style of decoration is mentioned. The fashion of binding the edges of boxes (*okiguchi*) with lead, pewter, and silver commenced about this time, and also the practice of decorating temples on a large scale. The Howo-do, or Phœnix Hall, of the temple of Byodo-in, built in 1052 by FUJIWARA-no-Yorimichi, had its ceiling and beams covered with lacquer, inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and it exists to this day. Other specimens of the lacquer of this period also exist.

The commencement of the next period, that of the Bakufu of Kamakura, 1186–1450, was marked by a still greater increase in the richness and magnificence of the lacquer, incrustations of plates of gold, and silver were much used. A few examples of this period exist in Japan, among which is a reliquary at the temple of Tayemadera, decorated with a lotus pond. This is signed with the names of its dedicator and its maker, probably the first recorded instance of a signed piece.

Towards the middle of the period a great decadence took place, which resulted in coarse work being done later on; the priests of Negoro-ji in Kii invented a style of red and black lacquer called "*negoro-nuri.*" Another well-known style was invented about this time, the "*kamakura-bori*" (*kamakura* carving); this probably was suggested by the real carved red lacquer of China, but the *kamakura-bori* consisted of black and red lacquer applied to carved surfaces.

[1] Probably a corruption of כרובים, cherubim, or (Chaldee) cherubin.

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We now come to the Ashikaga period, 1336–1573, a time of strife and civil war, owing to the rivalry between Kyōtō and Kamakura, yet, in spite of this, it was a notable period for lacquer, toward the middle of which the art made great progress. About this time Chinese influence came to Japan, in the form of black and red carved lacquer; this style was imitated by the Japanese, and is usually known as *tsuikoku* and *tsuishu* lacquer. It is said, also, that Chinese workmen came over to Japan to learn the art of *maki-ye*, or picture lacquer in gold; this was between the years 1426 and 1457. It is known, also, that the Shōgun Yoshimitsu, 1368–1393, sent presents of gold lacquer to the Emperor of China to ingratiate himself with him in order that he might obtain the title of King of Japan [Plate III.].

We know very little more about the art now, until we come to the time of the eighth Shōgun, Yoshi-masa, 1449–1479. He embraced the Zen sect, and retired from office in order to devote himself to religion and art; of the latter he was a well-known patron, as well as a zealous follower of the tea ceremony cult. Gold lacquer attained to a very high quality at this time, and raised lacquer was brought to perfection. The *nashi-ji* grounds assumed the richness of effect which has characterized them ever since, as distinguished from the earlier style of sparsely strewn surfaces. Yoshi-masa employed his tea intimates, Shūkō and Jō-ō, to design utensils to be made in lacquer, and now for the first time lacquer artists began to be known by name. One, Hide-tsugu, is mentioned as covering tea-boxes (probably *natsumé*) with lacquer, after the designs of Jō-ō; also the names of Hadagoro, Koami Docho, Noami-Soami, and Igarashi Shinsai appear. Many of these were the founders of long lines of lacquer workers. Koami Docho used the drawings of Tosa Mitsunobu as designs for his lacquer, while Igarashi and his school worked much in the style adopted later on by the Kajikawa.

The work of the period is styled that of the Higashiyama Jidai (or Eastern mountain period), out of compliment to Yoshi-masa, on account of the situation of his country pavilion, called Ginkakuji, near Kyōtō [Plate II.]. The lacquer of this period is much esteemed, and a good many examples are in existence, many of which are in European collections; they are usually in the form of little incense boxes and mirror cases with pewter rims [Plates I. & IV.].

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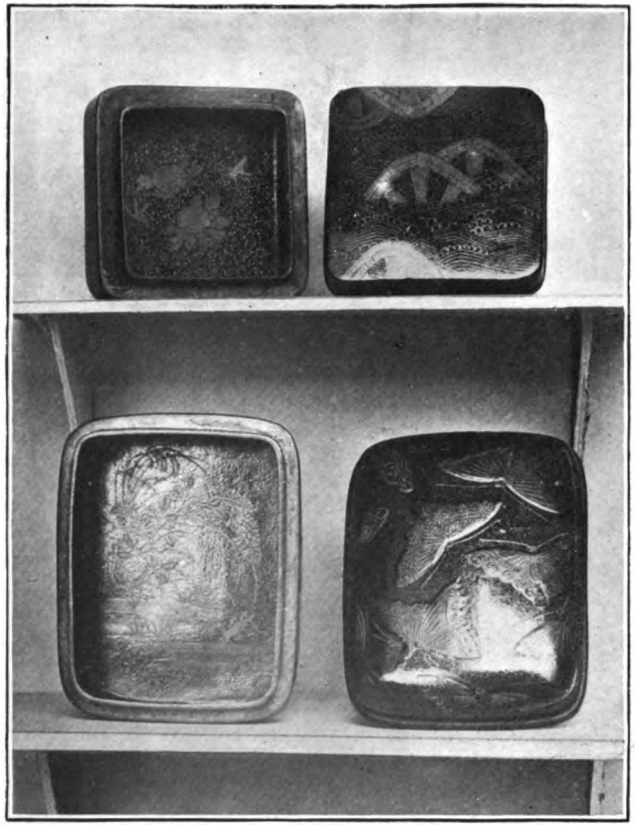

TWO INCENSE BOXES.
(Author's Collection.)

TWO TEA BOXES (NATSUMÉ).
(Author's Collection.)

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The period which succeeded this was again marked by civil war and disturbance, between the years 1570 and 1592, so much so, that the arts of peace fell into great decadence, and it was not until Toyotomi Hideyoshi came into power that the country became settled again, and the lacquerers returned to Kyōtō and resumed work [Plate IV. No. 3]. But the work of this period was coarse in character, and is usually known as *karasu-maru-mono*, after the name of the place in Kyōtō where it was made. The Taikō Hideyoshi followed the example of Yoshi-masa, in encouraging the fine arts and the tea clubs. He employed the great Cha-jin Senno-Rikyu, his instructor in the tea ceremony, to design tea utensils to be made in lacquer, and for this purpose Sei-ami, a noted maker of *natsumé*,[1] (tea-boxes) [Plate I., Nos. 3 & 4], and Hidetsugu 2nd were employed. Sei-ami was also called Shō-hō; both he and Hidetsugu received the title of "Ten-ka-ichi" (the unique) from the Taikō.

The mausoleum of Hideyoshi at the temple of Kodaiji is decorated with a style of lacquer which is called *kodaiji maki-ye*. The same temple also contains pieces of lacquer presented by Asano, Hideyoshi's wife, decorated with the crest of the Bayoromi family, of which she was a member.

About this time a great artist named Koyetsu[2] (b. 1558, d. 1637) appeared on the scene. Great boldness of design characterised his work, inspired, according to Captain Brinkley's opinion, by the illuminated Buddhist Sutras of the twelfth century, or possibly by the old Tosa paintings, which we have seen employed before as designs by the older workers. At any rate, it appears to have been quite a distinct style, and its broadness and simplicity must have appealed strongly to the tea-ceremony devotees [Plate III., No. 1]. He used as inlays large masses of mother-of-pearl, lead, silver, copper, including even *faïence*, and sometimes his designs bordered on the grotesque. His pupil and successor, Tsuchida Soyetsu, whose work is much admired by all connoisseurs, was born about the beginning of the seventeenth century. While still following, to a considerable extent, the style of his master in design, he brought a greater feeling of finish and refinement to bear on his work. He used

[1] In the tea ceremony, during winter, tea-jars, called *cha-ire*, of pottery were used, but in summer, lacquer boxes, called *natsumé*.

[2] He is called Hon-ami, Kô-ami, and An-ami, Koyetsu by various authors.

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lead and mother-of-pearl, but instead of inlaying the latter in large pieces, he cut it up into strips, carefully fitted together, to suit the curve of the box. As I mentioned in the early part of this paper, he used the acetate of iron black for his grounds, and the effect of the rich dark brown with the low-toned gold is very fine. He is chiefly known by his *inro*, which are very interesting, because he so often signed them, not only with his name, but also the age at which he made them. I have three by him, made at the ages of eighty-two, eighty-three, and eighty-five [Plate VIII., No. 6].[1] Sometimes, as was the custom with other lacquerers, he worked with other artists. I have an *inro* in which the lacquer is by him, and the inlay of *chidori* (Godwits) in metal work is by Yasuchika ; it is signed with both names.

I have spoken about these two great masters of the art before referring to the change which had by this time come over the social and political state of the country, because Koyetsu really belonged to the former period, and Soyetsu was his pupil. But in the year 1600 the great descendant of the Minamoto family, Iyeyasu, the founder of the line of Tokugawa Shōguns, put an end to civil war, once and for all, by his victory at Sekigahara, and declared himself Shōgun in 1603. From that time Japan had uninterrupted peace, and entire seclusion from outside interference for two hundred and fifty years, except the limited commercial relations established with the Dutch. Is it to be wondered at, that this period, and especially the latter part of its first century, should become the golden age of the lacquerer's art ? Never was the demand for fine lacquer so great as during this period. The arts of peace had ample time to develop, and the stately ceremonial of the court at Yedo, which now became one of the chief seats of the art, encouraged luxury and refinement among the nobles. Great impetus was given to the Tea ceremony, the perfume game, and similar aristocratic pastimes, while the sets of Daimyō furniture and toilet utensils, nearly all of lacquer, afforded great scope for decoration [Plate IV.]. Among some of the most splendid examples of the art of this period are the large manuscript boxes (*ryoshi-bunko*) and the writing-boxes (*suzuri-bako*), which were profusely decorated both outside and in. Iyeyasu himself patronised some of the chief artists of the time, such as Koami Choho, and Koma Kiui, the

[1] Signed "Tsuchida Soyetsu, aged 85 years."

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1. MIRROR CASE. 2. TOILET BOX.
EARLY DAIMYO LACQUER.
(Author's Collection.)

TOILET BOX (TEBAKO).
(Author's Collection.)

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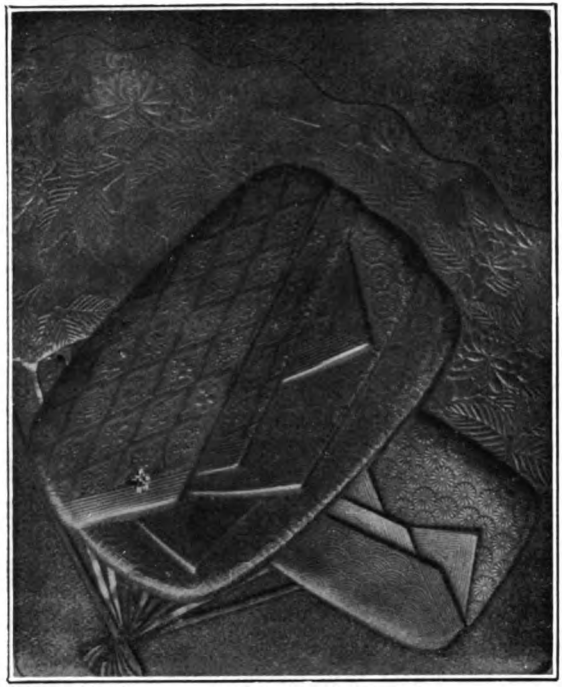
INSIDE.



OUTSIDE.

WRITING-BOX.

(Pelton Collection.)

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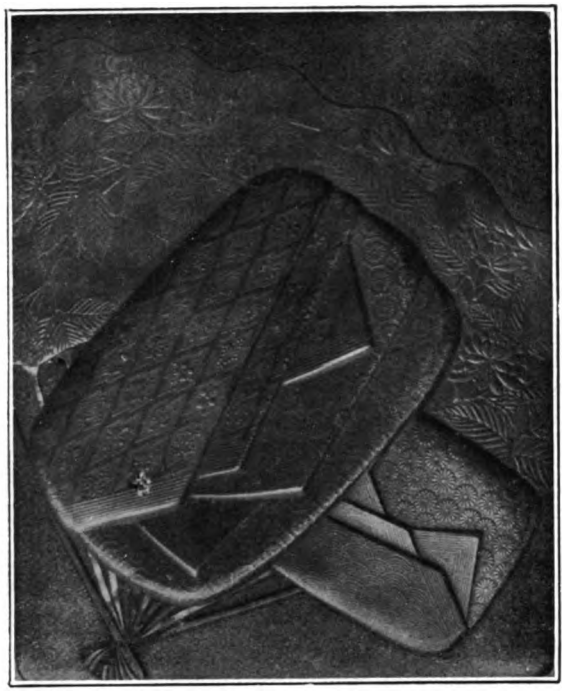
INSIDE.



OUTSIDE.

WRITING-BOX.

(Pelton Collection.)

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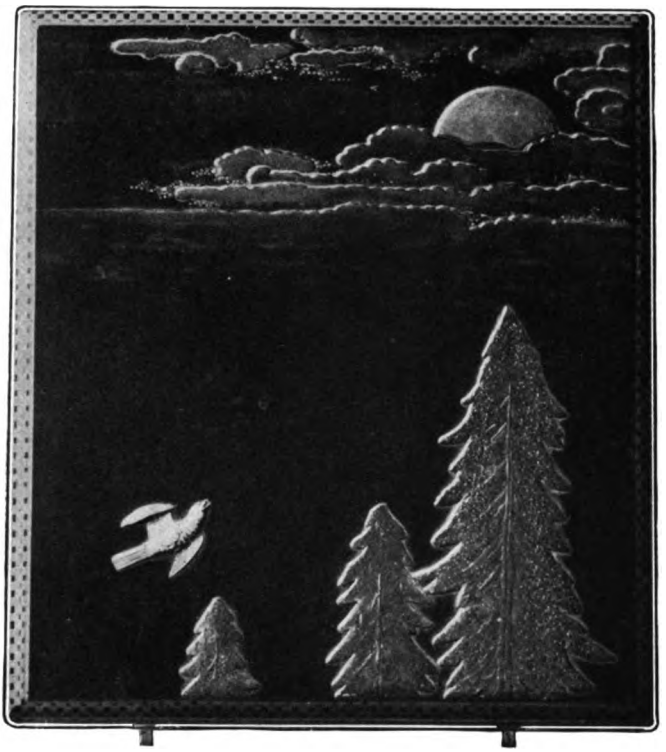
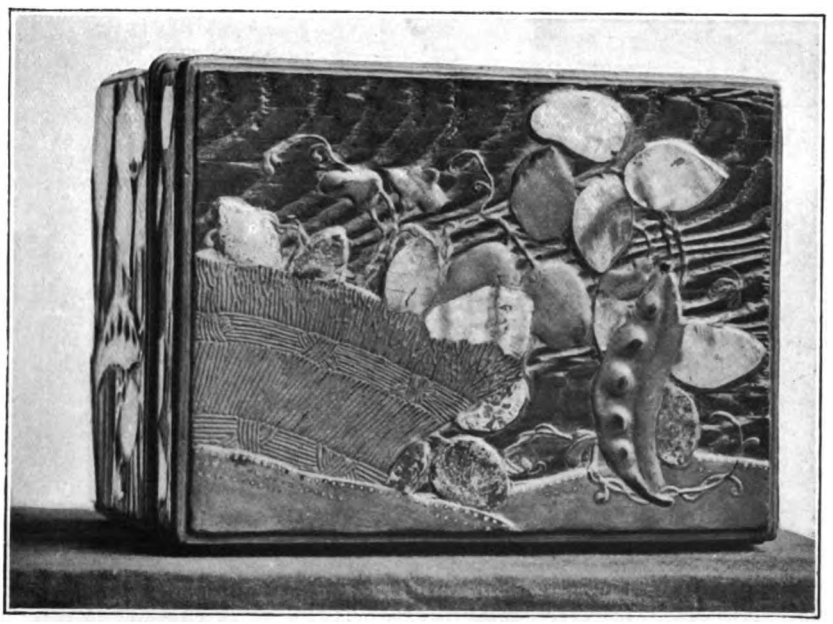


WRITING-BOX.
(Author's Collection.)



BOX BY KORIN.
(Tomkinson Collection.)

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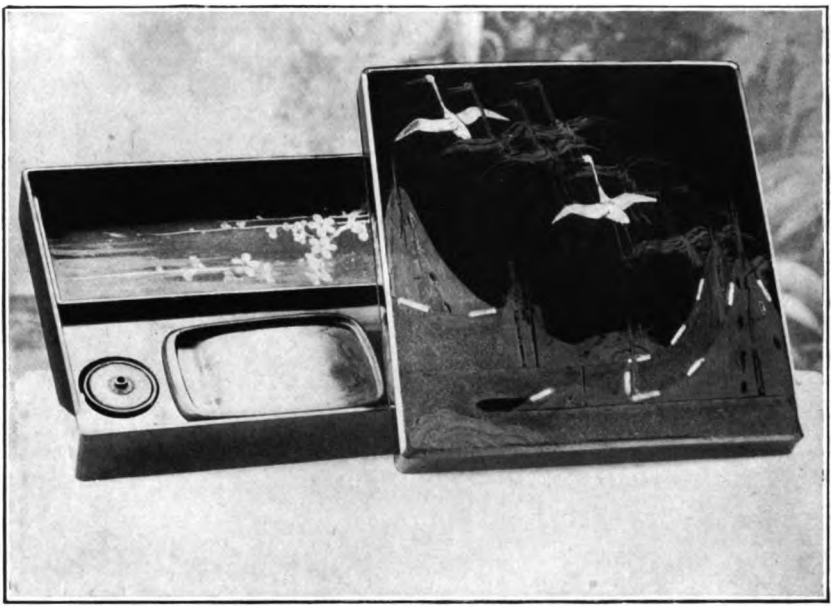

WRITING-BOX.
(Author's Collection.)

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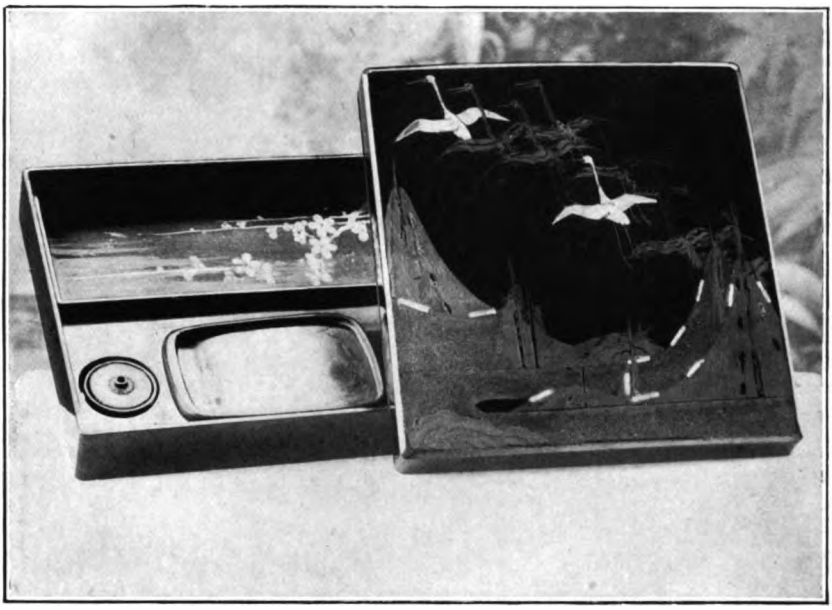

WRITING-BOX.
(Author's Collection.)

WRITING-BOX.
(Author's Collection.)

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founder of a long line of distinguished artists of that name. This was not a period of one special style of work, but of many, for nothing could be more dissimilar than the styles of Kajikawa, Koma, Korin, and Shunsho, although they all worked about the same time, as well as the descendants of Yoshi-masa's period, Igarashi and Koami; this latter, Koami Nagashigé, was court lacquerer to the Shōgun Iyemitsu (1623–49), and his work is well known by the furniture he made for the court.

Igarashi Dōhō (about 1640) is represented in England by an *inro* in Mr. Tomkinson's collection, while Mr. Phené Spiers has a writing-box, interesting on account of the date, which is early in this century. The inscription reads, "Made by Shimizu Ichitayu Masatomo in the year 1626." This name is apparently not known, but no doubt there are many artists, *pictores ignoti* of their time, whose names are not recorded in history. This account would be incomplete without some short notice of the different styles adopted by the various families of workers, and when I speak of these, you will understand that the founder of each set the fashion which was followed in a more or less successful manner by his descendants. One who apparently had no special following was Aogai Chobei (1605–49), celebrated for his mosaic work in mother-of-pearl, chiefly *inro*. Kajikawa Hikobel (*c.* 1637) appears to be the founder of that family; but his successor, Kajikawa Kiujiro (1680), was the best known, and may really be called the first of the line [Plate VI., No. 1]. His work in gold lacquer, inlay of gold, *nashi-ji* and *gyobu*, is too well known to need any further description, and is chiefly known as raised lacquer or a mixture of that with *togidashi*, the insides of writing-box lids forming a specially good field for his work, these often being finer than the outsides. In contrast to the high finish and refinement of this style of work, his contemporary Ogata Korin (1660–1716) followed in the steps of Koyetsu, (the *momoyama*, or "peach mountain") style, but the audacity of his designs far outstepped those of his model (for he could hardly have been his master) [Plates V., VI., No. 2, & VIII., Nos. 1 & 2]. Using the same kind of materials, he ran riot in impressionism, although sometimes he could add a touch of great refinement. It is probable that, like Turner, he arrived at this style by degrees, and after much patient and hard work. His effect is strong, and the tone and texture of his gold grounds, studded

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as they are with tiny gold points, form one of the chief characteristics of his work.

Two examples of the development of Korin's work may be seen among the pieces of lacquer exhibited here. One is a writing-box lent by Mr. Pelton [Plate V.], which has been attributed to Korin. The design is one of folded brocades in gold, and a fan in mother-of-pearl, of high finish and careful work ; the inside, flocks of little birds (*chidori*) and clouds, a design he often employed, and quite different in style to the outside. The other is a tray (or *bon*) lent by Sir Trevor Lawrence, of gold lacquer with mother-of-pearl inlays. In this, both the finished and the impressionistic styles may be seen combined.

Koma Kiui has already been mentioned as the first of the name, but he is not so well known as Koma Kiuhaku, court lacquerer to the Shōgun Tsunayoshi [Plate VIII., No. 4]. Like Kiui, he was noted for his *inro ;* his work both in *togidashi* and raised lacquer is absolute perfection. There were one or two later members of the same name. Yamamoto Shunshō, who worked about the same time (1680), was celebrated for his *togidashi* and flat lacquer, the refinement and softness of which must be seen to be appreciated. A little later on Shiomi Masanari followed a similar style, yet marked with an individuality entirely his own.

Before passing on to the last member of this great body of artists, a word must be said about signatures ; these are found chiefly on *inro.* Whether it was because these beautiful things were considered to be the gems of the art, or whether it was a trait of Japanese modesty not to flaunt their names on more pretentious pieces, one cannot tell but many names would never have been known but for these little medicine-boxes. We are told that they were not introduced till the end of the sixteenth century ; yet there are many, some exhibited here, which show all the characteristics of a much earlier period [Plate IX., No. 1]. Hardly any of these are signed, so it is very difficult to judge, but my own opinion is that their origin goes much further back. It is difficult very often to identify the individual in these signatures, because many, like the Kajikawa and the Shunshō, signed the family name only, sometimes with a seal or monogram called *kakihan*, so the work can only be judged by its colour and character. The Koma family more often added the personal name, but even these were sometimes repeated by their

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INRO.

(Holme Collection.)

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successors. Korin is a name which has been more forged, I suppose, than any other, owing to its great popularity, and if he had made all the pieces attributed to him, he must have been almost a bi-centenarian.

We are now drawing near to the close of the seventeenth century, but there is still one more artist of distinctive mark who must not be omitted, for, although he worked long after the end of the Gen-roku period, he was born near the middle of the seventeenth century. I mean Ogawa Haritsu, usually called Ritsuo (1663–1747). He studied under Korin and his brother Kenzan, and learnt the potter's art from the latter. Although his designs are bold, he developed quite a different style from his master Korin, and is chiefly known for inlays of pottery, both on lacquered grounds and on natural wood [Plate VIII., No. 5]. In some instances his work can hardly be called lacquer, for it consists of wood and pottery only, except the linings. His imitations of the colours and textures of bronze and other metals in lacquer are unequalled, besides his favourite designs of Chinese ink and dried fish, etc., old Chinese coins, seals, and mirrors. Sir Trevor Lawrence has a fine cabinet by him, probably one of the largest pieces in Europe, besides many other fine examples, one of which is exhibited here to-night.

With this name I bring to a close the record (imperfect as it is) of the greatest period of Japanese art, for although the later branches of these different schools continued to flourish almost to our own time, and vie with each other in marvellous exhibitions of technical skill, they at least could not do anything better, in the way of true artistic work, than the great masters from whom they originated.

I must not conclude without tendering my sincere thanks to the following gentlemen, who have kindly assisted me in illustrating this paper, both by the loan of specimens and also in furnishing photographs and lantern slides: Mr. Chas. Holme, Sir Trevor Lawrence, Mr. Garbutt, Mr. Pelton, Mr. Tomkinson, Mr. Seymour Trower, and Mr. Phené Spiers.

After the Lecture, which was followed by an exhibition of specimens of lacquer ware, the Chairman said he would be very pleased to hear any lady or gentleman speak on the subject of the Lecture.

Mr. Pelton, M.J.S., said he had been a collector of lacquer for some years, and was much interested in the subject, and had some pieces

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exhibited there that evening. He was not at all learned on the subject, and had always had some difficulty in identifying the exact period of execution.

He would like to ask a question regarding the artists' signatures, which he considered had been described by the Lecturer in a somewhat ambiguous manner. They had been told that signatures were put on certain pieces of lacquer and omitted in others, with no definite rule as to their insertion or omission. Was it to be understood that signatures were always omitted on those pieces of lacquer executed for the Imperial family, or did the artist exercise his own caprice in the matter? Or were they, perhaps, to come to the conclusion that, although very fine specimens had signatures, these were on work undertaken for wealthy owners? He did not know whether this point would be of general interest, but he raised the question merely because it had puzzled him.

He hoped that there would be further lectures on a subject which would never be properly exhausted.

Mr. PHENE SPIERS (*Member of Council, J.S.*) said he had never done more than admire lacquer, but he had often wished to learn something about it; and Mr. Harding Smith had given a great deal of information, though he would like to know more about the raised lacquer, and the exact process employed.

Mr. NICHOLSON, M.J.S., said he would like to ask a question as to whether more information could not be obtained as to the more modern mode of lacquering, and of the article itself. One had listened with interest to the receipt given by the Lecturer, which was credited as the process adopted; but when one heard the tale of the horse with the wonderful coat, one realised that one was being taken back to the Middle Ages. As one engaged in the technical part of trade, he would like to know something concerning the modern process.

Mr. HUISH (*Hon. Librarian, J.S.*) said, before passing the Vote of Thanks, he would like to say a few words. In England the finest existing specimens of lacquer-work were certainly not to be found, probably because the art interested but a very small portion of our craftsmen. Nor were they singular, for there was also little doubt that lacquer received no appreciation in this country by those who had been in charge of our museums, for he knew that one of our most important museums had refused to accept a collection of the very finest specimens of lacquer-work, and so it had been otherwise disposed of. When it was too late—and that moment had practically arrived—an endeavour would possibly be made to remove what was a lamentable want in national collections which had in other departments such magnificent completeness and usefulness. He then proposed the Vote of Thanks, which Captain Sparks was asked to second.

The CHAIRMAN said that a few years ago he had more than one

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opportunity of seeing the process of lacquer-making as conducted at the present time. There were one or two points which had struck him as being interesting.

First of all, with reference to the drying of the lacquer, usually conducted in a damp compartment. He had frequently seen sheds filled with straw, which was every day watered in order to keep the sheds cool. It had been stated that the lacquer took twenty-four hours to dry, but in his experience he had found that each layer (in the finest specimens of lacquer-work) would not dry properly in much less than a month's time. It was possible, in the majority of cases, to recognise a piece of common workmanship by the wood ground showing through the lacquer, whereas in the finest specimens of work this entirely disappeared by means of the enormous amount of rubbing, etc. The process of decorative lacquer was very curious. The delicate decorations were done by means of a very fine pencil of hare's hair, and, in order to get the steadiness necessary for painting, the brush was held in the hand, and the object moved about underneath the brush, instead of the brush itself being moved. He said he had seen several specimens decorated in this way, and it had struck him as an interesting point.

Before terminating the Meeting, he would like to hear the Lecturer answer a few of the various questions which had been asked.

The LECTURER said the question asked by Mr. Spiers in regard to the raised lacquer had been partially answered by the Chairman. After the design had been painted on in moist lacquer it was sprinkled over with charcoal, so as to make a firm hold for the subsequent layers of raised lacquer—charcoal forming a raised surface on which the lacquer of prepared clay was painted. When once lacquer was on, it was impossible to get it off again.

Then about comparing the old process with the new. He had said nothing about the modern process that evening, as he considered it did not come within his subject, though he did say something about modern, as comparing unfavourably with the ancient work, owing to the quickness of its execution. Instead of using pure lacquer, which had the disadvantage of taking such a long time to dry, modern craftsmen hastened the process by means of oils and oxide of iron, which diminished the lasting properties of the work. The number of processes, too, employed by the workers were nowadays curtailed, and, though he had himself never been to Japan, he had heard from those familiar with the country that craftsmen no longer took the same pride in their work which he had described in his paper that evening. As regards signatures, there was apparently no rule with regard to signatures—it was entirely a matter of caprice on the part of the artist.

The CHAIRMAN then terminated the Meeting, after inviting those present to examine specimens of lacquer exhibited in cases in the room.

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APPENDIX.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

I. Two small incense boxes. Upper, Hiramakiyé, water-wheels and waves; pewter rim.

Lower, Takamakiye; butterflies on coarse Nashi-ji ground; inside, grasses, ferns, and grasshopper; pewter rims.

Two tea boxes (*natsumé*). Upper, style of *Soyetsu*, but probably much earlier.

Lower, fern *fronds*, equisetum, and grasses, in gold lacquer, mother-of-pearl, and lead.

II. Writing-box, probably of the Higashiyama period.

Outside, a fan and flowers, on a ground of minute squares.

Inside, bamboo fence, pine tree, etc., in gold lacquer. (Lent by Mr. Garbutt.)

III. Outside of writing-box, probably Ashikaga period.

Chrysanthemums and leaves in gold lacquer.

Fence in mother-of-pearl and lead. (Lent by Mr. C. Holme.)

Outside of writing-box, attributed to Koyetsu.

Hydrangea in silver, and leaves in gold lacquer on dark ground. (Lent by Mr. Pelton.)

IV. Mirror case; coarse nashi-ji, with crests of gold and silver inlaid; pewter rims; early Daimyo lacquer.

Round toilet-box; late sixteenth or early seventeenth century crests and Karakusa, in dull gold.

Toilet-box (Tebako); gold lacquer decorated with the emblems of longevity, but cherry blossom in metallic silver is substituted for the usual plum blossom; probably end of sixteenth century.

V. Writing-box, attributed to Korin, showing transitional style. Outside, folded brocade incense papers on fan, all in gold lacquer.

Inside, Chidiri on a ground of clouds, decorated with gold and silver. (Lent by Mr. Pelton.)

VI. Lid of writing-box; black lacquer, clouds, dull gold and silver, moon and cuckoo in silver, and trees in lead, touched with gold, probably by Kajikawa. (Author's collection.)

Box by Korin; fence and bean plant in gold lacquer, mother-of-pearl, and lead, on natural wood. (Lent by Mr. M. Tomkinson.)

VII. Two writing-boxes.

The upper, of early style, black lacquer, nets hanging up to dry on poles, in gold lacquer; flight of cranes in gold lacquer and mother-of pearl.

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The lower, of late seventeenth century; gold lacquer on nashi-ji ground; chrysanthemums in gold, silver, and tin; inside of lid, maple leaves and river, inlaid same metals. (Author's collection.)

VIII. Six Inro. Left, two by Korin. The upper, cerasus flowers outlined in black, on gold ground; leaves in mother-of-pearl; stems in pewter.

Lower, stag in lead, and lespedeza leaves in gold plate, mother-of-pearl, and lead. Rev. fern fronds in outline of black and gold.

Middle. Upper, dead gold; signs of the zodiac in gold, silver, and shakudo; seventeenth century.

Lower. Stag in gold lacquer on black. Rev. silver lacquer, with sunk panel of maple leaves in togidashi; signed Koma Kiukaku.

Right. Upper, elephant in coloured faience on ground of rough-grained wood, by Ritsuo.

Lower, bundle of faggots (on both sides), billhook, and withes in lead; slight inlay of aogai work, signed "Tsuchida Soyetsu, at the age of 85." (Author's collection.)

IX. Four Inro.

1. Of early style, with red under the gold; story of the Karashishi and young.
2. School of Korin; cranes on a dark gold ground.
3. Inlay of tortoiseshell; three figures of sages, on a background of aogai work. Probably seventeenth century.
4. Story of the carp ascending a waterfall, probably of the seventeenth century. (Holme collection.)

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AN

EXTRA-ORDINARY MEETING,

THURSDAY, MAY 31ST, 1906.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, W.*]

The Chair was taken at 8.30 P.M., by Mr. WILSON CREWDSON, *Hon. Secretary J.S.*

At an Extra-Ordinary Meeting of the Japan Society, held on Thursday, May 31st, 1906, Mr. Goji Ukita (*Hon. Secretary, J.S.*) showed on the epidiascope a series of photographs illustrating Japanese education, these slides having been brought over from Japan by Mr. M. Sawayanagi, Director-General of School Affairs in Tōkyo.

After the exhibition the Chairman asked whether any lady or gentleman would like to put any question. He considered that it had been one of the most interesting and successful series of slides he had ever seen.

Mr. PELTON, M.J.S., said he was rising because he wished to pay tribute to the very attractive series of slides, which showed that latterly in educational matters the picturesque had been superseded by more practical methods in Japan.

He was prompted to ask a few questions. He had for some time served on the Borough Council of his native town in connection with education, and as a member of the School Attendance Committee he found that the great difficulty lay in dealing with the parents, whose sole object seemed to be to keep the children away from school, and who did their best to try and persuade the Council to grant them permission to take their children away from school. Did this happen in Japan?

He also asked how much it cost to educate a child in Japan? In his experience he had had dealings with some 20,000 children, and the expense of each child's education amounted to nearly £3, and the education rate was something like 1*s.* 3*d.* in the pound. There would be nothing to grumble at in that, provided the education were efficient,

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but in his experience the children seemed to leave school with very little more in their heads than when they entered.

He further remarked on the point made by Mr. Ukita, that in Japan morals were taught without religion, and said that in England he considered religion was taught without morals. He also asked whether in Japan there were any difference made in the teaching of the different sects.

A lady in the audience asked whether education were gratuitous in every stage in Japan, or only in the earlier stages.

Mr. UKITA replied that principally it was free, but in some localities a fee of not more than 5*d.* a month could be exacted. Sometimes the schools were entitled to ask aid from the Local Municipal Government, though not from the Central Government.

Mr. HUISH (*Hon. Librarian and Curator, J.S.*) asked whether the school buildings had been planned by native or by foreign architects, as he noticed in the slides that many of the elevations seemed akin to European models; for instance, the primary schools seem to have been built on German lines, and the Imperial University might be looked upon as almost an imitation of the more modern colleges at Oxford.

Mr. UKITA replied that some of the buildings of the Imperial University were designed by English or foreign architects, but not those of the primary schools. Up to forty years ago there was no European work to be seen, but since that date buildings were no doubt designed by Japanese architects of European education. In answer to previous inquiries as to school attendance, Mr. Ukita said that there was no difficulty in persuading the students to go to school. Nearly 95 per cent. of the population attended the primary schools, which were not very severe.

A lady from the audience asked whether classes mixed in the schools, to which Mr. Ukita replied that there were "Nobles' Schools" for the peers and nobility, but the other schools were democratic, and rich and poor attended the same school. Girls and boys, too, were taught for the most part in the same class, except where the number of each was very large, then they might have separate classes.

Mr. CREWDSON (*Hon. Secretary, J.S.*) asked whether Japanese education was at all modelled on American methods, as he noticed several points common to both, as, for instance, the mixture of sexes and instruction in morals. The buildings, too, were similar in type.

Mr. UKITA replied he did not think that Japan had modelled her system particularly on American methods, but there was found French, German, English, *and* American influence.

Mr. HUISH said he was sure every one was very much indebted to

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Mr. Ukita for the exhibition of the slides, and also to Mr. Crewdson, who had suggested that an extra meeting should be held in order not to lose the opportunity of seeing them. If an instance were wanted of what Japan had done in education, no better example could be found than in Mr. Ukita, whose knowledge of English was something to be envied. Without his detailed explanations the slides would have lost a great deal of their interest, and he had not only to propose a Vote of Thanks to the provider of the series of slides, but also to Mr. Ukita for his description of them.

Mr. Osman Edwards (*Member of Council, J.S.*) said he had much pleasure in seconding the Vote of Thanks proposed by Mr. Huish. It was some consolation to feel that the Japanese children had to pass through the same chamber of torture as English children. It was, however, wonderful what progress the Japanese students made, and how anxious they were to learn. He remembered that on one occasion a large school was convulsed by a revolution, and agitated to get rid of its head master, for the reason that he did not know enough! He believed that the difficulty the Japanese schoolmasters had to contend against was, not in making the boys work, but in keeping them from working too much.

The Vote of Thanks to Mr. Sawayanagi and Mr. Ukita was carried unanimously, and the proceedings terminated.

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THE STORY OF A FORGOTTEN DECORATION CONFERRED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

THE accompanying photographs were taken from a gold medal in the possession of Count Ganagisawa, who has kindly lent it in order that a record of this most unusual decoration might be kept by the Japan Society. The ribbon is of the same maroon-coloured red as the ribbon used for the Waterloo Medal, from which it differs only by the omission of the two blue stripes.

The account of the incident on the night of the 5th–6th July, 1861, for which the medal was granted, is given at considerable length in Laurence Oliphant's "Episodes in a Life of Adventure," chapter x.; and in Sir Rutherford Alcock's "Capital of the Tycoon," chapter xxx. These accounts are, however, too well known to bear repetition at the present time. The history of the medal is not so well known; and the following extracts from "A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan" will be read with interest. Writing from Tōkyō, December, 1899, Mr. Fraser says—

"A safe in the Chancery, which had been unused for some years, was opened for some reason or other, and was found to contain a parcel of apparently forgotten medals, sent by our Government to be distributed among the Japanese who helped to defend the British Legation against the attacks of some Samurai in 1861! When it was known that these medals would now be distributed, over twenty-seven years after the event, every one seemed inclined to deprecate the precipitation shown by our authorities in such matters. Why not wait till the few survivors of the affray had joined the majority, and then hang the medals on their tombstones all at once, and so avoid unfriendly feeling? The local papers made merry at our expense; and the tiresome people, who only live to ask questions to which there can be no possible answer, rose like one man and insisted on knowing the cause of the delay. When at last the

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MEDAL PRESENTED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR GALLANTRY IN DEFENCE OF THE BRITISH LEGATION, JULY 6TH, 1861.

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truth was told, the delay turned out not to have been of our making at all. It came from the heroes themselves, who in those early days had no desire to be distinguished as the friends and protectors of the abhorred foreigner, although their obedience to orders had made them quite ready to strike a blow in his defence.

"The story of the attack is such an old one that you may have forgotten it. . . . The Shōgun's Government kept one hundred and fifty men to guard the Legation compound; but for some undeclared reason they failed to stop fourteen samurai, desperate, conscientious fanatics, who made their way into the ministers' quarters on the night of July 4th, 1861, and succeeded in wounding Laurence Oliphant and the other secretary, and in killing some of the guards, before they were driven back. Once roused the guards fought well; and it was in recognition of their services that these medals were sent from England, with warm expressions of thanks for their loyalty. But nobody wished to be reminded of the affair, and the Tokugawa Government refused to supply the names of the men who had earned the British decorations, which would at that time have marked out their wearers as traitors in the eyes of the fanatical samurai and the country at large. So the medals were quietly put away in a Chancery safe, which, with other interesting objects, escaped destruction in 1863, because the persevering samurai who then burnt down the Legation buildings did so on the very night after they were completed, and before the British representatives and his staff had taken possession.

"For this last outrage there was something like an excuse, since the site of the buildings had been, strictly speaking, extorted from the Government at the point of the bayonet. Various beautiful sites were offered when the Takanawa Legation was condemned as being isolated and inconvenient; but our authorities would have none of them, having set their hearts on what was a favourite resort of the townspeople, a beautiful public garden, endeared to the Japanese by the fact that their hero, Iyeyasu, had held his court there when he first made Tōkyō his seat of government. It is interesting to remember that Count Ito, the great advocate of progress for Japan, the chief framer of her constitution, was one of the samurai engaged in this incendiary exploit. He laughs over it now, and says that if medals are being given to the protectors of the foreigner, he

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certainly ought to have one, having planned and lighted his bonfire when the new buildings were empty and no lives could be lost.

"But I must go back to the story of the safe. It travelled with the rest of the official properties from one place to another, till, eighteen years ago, it was lodged in the present Chancery, a strong little building, well away from the gate, and placed between the minister's house and the quarters of the two English constables who are all that now remain of the numerous escort necessary in Sir Harry Parkes' days. Then the times changed; and when the Queen sent swords to Count Goto and Nakai Kozo for defending her representative from the perennial fanatic in 1868, her gifts were received with pride and gratitude. But the medals were forgotten; the keys of the safe were lost. It was supposed only to contain old accounts, which nobody wished to consult; and something very like consternation filled the establishment last spring, when the energetic head of the Chancery said he would not have useless lumber lying about; the old chest must be broken open, and its contents sorted or destroyed, according to their values! Then the medals, silver and gold, with their yellow diplomas, came to light. The active official conscience insisted on their being given to the men for whom they were intended, and a busy search brought one or two of these retiring braves to light, and caused considerable amusement to the foreign public at large, who, not instructed as to the original causes of the delay, felt delightfully healthy and virtuous in having found such a good case against red-tapeism and official procrastinations, and in proof of the general uselessness of public servants."

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倫敦

日本協會

雜誌

七卷之

第三篇

TRANSACTIONS

AND

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE JAPAN SOCIETY,

LONDON.

VOLUME VII.

SIXTEENTH SESSION, 1906-1907.

PART III.

"TALES OF OLD AND NEW JAPAN." By The Rt. Hon. Lord Redesdale, G.C.V.O., K.C.B., F.L.S., Vice-President *J.S.*

"SHINTO." By W. G. Aston, C.M.G., D.Lit., *Hon. M.J.S.*

"THE BEGINNINGS OF ANCIENT JAPANESE LITERATURE." By F. Victor Dickins, C.B., *M.J.S.*

"THE SELECTION OF JAPANESE PRINTS." By Samuel Tuke, M.A., *M.J.S.*

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Where two names of a Japanese person are given, the name in BOLDER TYPE is the Family Name.

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THE

NINETY-FIRST ORDINARY MEETING,

(FIRST OF THE SIXTEENTH SESSION,)

NOVEMBER 14, 1906.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, London.*]

His Excellency Baron KOMURA, *President J.S.*, took the Chair at 8.30 P.M., when a Paper was read by the Right Hon. Lord REDESDALE, G.C.V.O., K.C.B. (*Vice-President*), entitled "A TALE OF OLD AND NEW JAPAN."

In opening the meeting the CHAIRMAN said they were that evening to have the pleasure of listening to a paper read by one of the few who had had the excellent opportunity of knowing both Old and New Japan, and therefore he was sure that both his English and Japanese audience would be interested to hear what he had to say.

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A TALE OF OLD AND NEW JAPAN.

By LORD REDESDALE, G.C.V.O., K.C.B. (*Vice-President, J.S.*).

WHEN your Secretaries did me the honour to request that I should read a Paper at the Opening Meeting of this Session of your Society, I felt that I could not refuse so flattering a compliment, but I made it a bargain that they, not I, should choose the subject.

They were good enough to suggest that it might be "a contrast between Japan as it now is and what it was some years since, with the title possibly of 'A Tale of Old and New Japan.'"

It will be seen, then, that I am responsible neither for the text nor for the title of the sermon which I have to preach. It is true that your Secretaries gave me as an alternative subject "Some incident in reference to the recent Garter Mission;" but with that I have to the best of my ability dealt in another manner, and even so it will be difficult to keep the experiences of that expedition out of our consideration. For if my life during former years in the Far East gave me some knowledge of the Old Japan, it is my recent journey with its many and astonishing experiences which opened my eyes to the full appreciation of that New Japan which has burst upon the astonished world.

It has become the merest platitude to talk of the progress of science during the last fifty years, that pregnant epoch, the teeming mother of many inventions; but if the material progress of mankind during the half century has been a wonder, producing results which would have seemed to our forefathers something beyond the craziest dreams of a moonstruck imagination, the political history of the same period has been no less astounding.

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Empires and dynasties have been brushed away; worn-out kingdoms and duchies, impotent in their arrogant smallness, have been welded together into new and mighty fabrics defying the world; in the Far West a long and terrible war has washed out in blood the dark stain of slavery. Manifold have been the cataclysms which we, the old men of to-day, have witnessed; but of all the changes that have occurred none is so altogether amazing, none so far-reaching in its consequences both at home and abroad, as that which has taken place in Japan. To describe in some way, necessarily imperfect, this great upheaval is the task which is before me this evening. A difficult task if ever there was such! For this contrast which I am bidden to paint is one of such violence that I doubt whether my poor palette holds colours bright enough for the work.

And here I must utter one word of apology to His Excellency and to my Japanese hearers. I do not think that any of you here present will accuse me of want of sympathy with the Old Japan. The poetry, the fascination, the charm, that made up the dainty joyousness of the life in that land of beauty as I first had the happiness to know it, have built for me a rich storehouse of precious memories, some of which I have in the past endeavoured, however feebly, to impart to others. Indeed, I sometimes think that no retrograde or reactionary Samurai of the old school could look back on those times more regretfully than I do. Who could help being fascinated by the chivalry, the heroism celebrated in many an old-world legend, the poetry of myth and fable which cast a glamour over all those who, coming from the humdrum and commonplace of the West, were spellbound as by a wizard's magic? And then the setting of it! A country so lovely, so dainty, so wildly fantastic in its beauty, that it seemed to be a fitting home for fairies and giants and dwarfs, such as troubled the brain of Don Quixote,—if human beings there were, they must be knightly figures and lovely princesses that might have stepped out of the illuminations of an Eastern Romance of the Rose. And yet those were dark days, black days, which, love them and cherish their memory as we may for the sake of their mystic charm, we must needs paint in sombre colours if we are to give due expression to the glorious sunshine by which they have been followed. After all, it is a question of chiaroscuro: what gives value to the high

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lights is the gloom of the deep shadows; and so you must bear with me if, in order to show the suddenness and the perfection of what Japan has achieved, I dwell with some stress upon what she has cast aside.

I spoke just now of the history of the last fifty years, and of the dominant place which Japan must occupy in it. What shall we say of the fifty years which preceded them? In the story of mankind during the half century ending in 1853, it is not too much to say that Japan, which must of necessity loom so large in the following half century, will not once be mentioned. By her own choice she stood alone, unknown to the rest of the world of which she herself was entirely ignorant. The small Dutch trading guild which lived in mercantile imprisonment in the island of Deshima had been for well-nigh 250 years the one link between Japan and the rest of mankind; and, with a few solitary exceptions—such, for instance, as the eminent Bavarian Doctor von Siebold—the guild was not composed of men calculated to illuminate Japan as to the outside world; whereas of Japan herself they spread the most astounding figments—figments all the more mischievous in that they tended to hamper those who first attempted to establish sound relations with her.

In these days of ocean liners and transcontinental railroads, when to put a girdle round the earth is merely a question of days, and when a man may wander where he will through the lovely islands of the Rising Sun, it seems almost incredible that when I first entered the public service in 1858 there was not a living Englishman who could say that he had ever set foot in Japan. I remember the excitement when it was announced that Lord Elgin had sailed from China to negotiate a treaty in that *terra incognita*. To-day there is not a city, not a seat of learning in Europe or America that has not held subjects of the Mikado, eager students in every branch of learning, law, medicine, philosophy, the economic arts, science in all its branches, men who have worked out to their profit the deepest problems of Western lore, to say nothing of all that appertains to naval and military knowledge; at the time of which I speak not a single Japanese had ever been seen in Europe.[1] How

[1] That is to say, of course, since the Missions of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries.

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remote it all seems in its impossibility, and yet, measured by what has been achieved, how short a time has elapsed!

The knowledge of the average European about Japan was limited to the fact that in some remote corner of the Eastern seas there lived a mysterious nation of cunning craftsmen, skilled in the making of pottery and lacquer, deft workers in bronze and other metals, carvers of wood and ivory, whose masterpieces were eagerly sought after by lovers of art. We heard the wildest tales—stories made in Holland—about a spiritual Emperor and a temporal Emperor, and about a form of government in which spying had been brought to a fine art. So crass was our ignorance that even educated men were for the most part under the impression that the Japanese language was identical with, or at any rate a dialect of, the Chinese.

But it signifies little what might be the fallacies which Europeans held about Japan fifty years ago—indeed, it signified little then. What was far more important was the opinion entertained of us by the Japanese. It was not flattering, and out of it sprang no little trouble. I well remember, even so late as a few years after the opening of Japan, seeing a handbill which was sent out broadcast by certain anti-foreign fanatics at Kyōto in which all men were warned to preserve the land sacred to the descendants of the gods from being defiled by the barbarians who were the offspring of dogs and cats and apes. To travel abroad was, under an edict of Iyémitsu, the third Shōgun of the Tokugawa dynasty, punishable by the extremest penalties of the law. No Japanese might leave the country under pain of death, no foreigner might enter it, save and except that handful of Dutchmen alluded to above, who drove a none too respectable trade cooped up in Deshima, content to suffer indignities unspeakable—among which *é-fumi*, trampling on the sacred images, bore a conspicuous part—so long as they might buy and sell, making a huge profit out of the exchange in gold, and the monopoly of an interesting commerce. So exclusive was the anti-foreign policy of Iyémitsu, so determined was he that the outer barbarian should have no footing in his country, and that no Japanese should have dealings abroad, that he actually forbade the building of sea-going ships.

Now, Iyémitsu was certainly one of the strongest of the old rulers of Japan, a worthy descendant of his grandfather Iyéyasu,

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the founder of the Tokugawa dynasty of Shōguns. What was it that led this wise man, this really great potentate, to take so violent a line against all foreign intercourse?

It is a common fallacy to suppose that Japan was from the beginning of time a hermit kingdom, neither giving nor seeking hospitality, keeping herself aloof from the rest of mankind, hugging her solitude, looking upon the sea as a barrier never to be crossed, whether for pleasure, for profit, or for conquest. Nothing could be further from the truth.

That we may rightly understand the situation in Japan at the first coming of foreigners fifty years ago, it is necessary that we should sketch, however briefly, the circumstances which led to her isolation.

Throughout the Middle Ages the Japanese were kings of the Eastern seas. No Vikings struck more terror into the West than they did in their raids upon the Chinese and Corean coasts. Their junks, bristling with the spears of fierce warriors, and manned by crews whose daring and spirit of seamanship live again in the bluejackets of Admiral Togo's fleet, knew no repulse, and carried mastery whithersoever the winds and the waves might waft them. Yet, be it noted, the annexation of foreign territory formed no part of the national policy of Japan. Provinces might be overrun, towns taken, sacked and burnt, but the rulers of Japan held aloof. Such piratical raids were the work of privateers, and if these obtained a hold in a distant land, as was once the case in Siam, where two freebooters made important conquests, no attempt was made at any lasting result. For colonization Japan had no taste, yet she had her Raleighs, her Drakes, her Frobishers, just as to-day she has her Nelson. That such men, instinct with the genius of the sea, born navigators, dare-devil privateers, should have submitted to laws which not only held them in chains at home, but even forbade the building of ships, must ever remain a lasting wonder, a witness to the immense power of Iyémitsu.

When in the year 1452 the Portuguese first appeared on the coasts of Japan they were received with warm hospitality. There was no prejudice against them or against their commerce; in no way were they hindered in their free dealings with the people—on the contrary, the advantages of foreign trade appear to have been fully recognized as a boon to the country and

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a new source of wealth. Other merchants followed and were made equally welcome, the Shōgun himself issuing an edict that they might go and trade whither they listed; and so matters might have gone on, pleasurably, profitably, had not a disturbing influence speedily arisen. We hear much of *das ewig weibliche*—"the eternal feminine"—less of *das ewig priesterliche*—"the eternal priestly"—and yet the one has hardly wrought more discord in the world than the other.

On the 15th of August, 1540, there landed in the island of Kiushiu a most remarkable man. Father Xavier, afterwards canonized as St. Francis Xavier, was a young gentleman of Navarre, who had adopted Letters as a profession, and was already, at twenty-two years of age, Professor of Literature in the College of Beauvais, when he came under the influence of the Biscayan Ignatius Loyola, by whose preaching he was persuaded to abandon his literary career and to become one of the seven founders of the famous Society of Jesus. He had chosen the Far East as the theatre of his missionary work, and was known as the Apostle of the Indies. For him perils by sea, perils by land, had no terror. Through all, and in spite of all, he must carry the Cross. And so it came to pass that, after many adventures and several years of arduous work, he was in the Malay Straits, where he became acquainted with a young Satsuma gentleman who had found his way there and who became his disciple. With him he set sail, with him he cast anchor in the lovely bay of Kagoshima, and with his assistance he began his missionary labours. When he quitted Japan some two and a half years later, he had, in spite of many difficulties and no little discouragement, achieved much. He left behind him the foundations of a structure which was destined to attain a great height before its final overthrow. He never came back, for he died of fever in the island of Shang Chuan on the 2nd of December, 1552, being only forty-six years of age.

For thirty years or more the new creed flourished exceedingly. Captain Brinkley tells us that "two hundred thousand converts were won; three monasteries, a college, a university, and upwards of fifty churches were built;" and it seemed as though the thirty-six provinces of which Japan then consisted might soon be included in the pale of Christendom.

During the early days of the power of Ota Nobunaga, in the

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latter half of the 16th century, that great ruler appears to have been favourably disposed towards the Christians; indeed, he seemed inclined to use Christianity as a lever against Buddhism, which at that time had become violently aggressive. It seems as if in all countries the priestcrafts were unable to confine themselves to the task of preaching and saving souls. Sooner or later political power has been the aim of their ambition; even the disciples of the gentle and meditative Buddha, the mystic who attained wisdom under the shadow of the Bodhi tree, were not proof against the temptation to achieve temporal power, and at Kyōto the followers of the teacher to whom all killing was a crime had formed themselves into a monastery of thirty thousand monks armed to the teeth, threatening the palace itself and the sacred person of the Emperor. Against these turbulent monks the Christians might be a valuable reinforcement, so for a while the new religion was greatly fostered at Kyōto; land and emoluments were showered upon the Fathers, who for a few years basked in official sunshine. But this favour was short-lived. Soon they, too, were suspected, like the Buddhists, of political aspirations, and Nobunaga determined to rid himself of their presence. Treason, however, put an end to his career and his life before he could carry out his plans. He was succeeded by the famous Taiko Hidéyoshi, the greatest ruler of the Old Japan. The Taiko was a man of humble origin, who by his military talents and mastery of statecraft raised himself to the proud position of Regent. He was the living embodiment of the Japanese proverb, "The lotus-flower springs from the mud." The change of ruler boded no good for the Christians. Hidéyoshi had long disturbed the professors of the new creed. The way in which they used their growing power and wealth convinced him that their aims were political, their ambitions temporal. Laws and proclamations were set at nought; cruelties at which the Inquisition itself might have stood aghast had taken the place of the gentle methods, the pious example, and the persuasive teaching of St. Francis Xavier. In the south, where the Christians had their stronghold, the sword and the stake were the arguments for conversion. In temporal matters class was being set against class, and the whole political fabric of the country was in danger. If this faith was to be the antidote to Buddhism, it seemed clear

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that the remedy was worse than the disease. By their turbulent lawlessness the Christians brought upon themselves the just wrath of a ruler with whom there was no trifling. Yet, although in one or two instances the penalty of death was exacted, and one Daimyō was degraded, there was so far no general persecution of the Christians. The Regent contented himself with warning them that their violence and aggressiveness would not be tolerated. The Franciscans brought the religious question to a head, and wrecked the chances of Christianity, just as they did a century later in China, where the Jesuits had achieved such marked success under the enlightened friendship of the Emperor Kang Hsi.

Under the cloak of a Spanish diplomatic mission a party of these Franciscan friars came to Kyōto, and started a propaganda in opposition to the Jesuits. The latter pleaded not only a bull of the Pope which appointed them to be the missionaries to the islands of the Rising Sun, but also the authorization of the former Regent. The Franciscans paid no heed to either, but continued to preach. The Taiko interfered and ordered them to desist. In vain! They defied the power of the Regent as they had rejected the remonstrances of the Jesuits—and so they rushed upon their ruin. When the Taiko heard that his orders had been set at nought his wrath was aroused. The Franciscans, with three Jesuits and some twenty Japanese converts, were made prisoners, carried to Nagasaki, and there executed.

I do not propose to go at any length into the story of the early Christians in Japan. It is a matter of common knowledge that they were expelled, and that there was much bloodshed and cruelty in carrying out that policy. But we must remember, as regards the latter aspect of the case, that in those times religious intolerance was no less violent in the West. We must, moreover, bear in mind that in the island of Kiushiu the Christians had themselves set an example of persecution; they reaped as they had sown. What is important for us in drawing this contrast between the Old and the New Japan is to consider the aspect of the case as it presented itself to the successive rulers of Japan, and how the attitude of the Christians led to that isolation which lasted for two centuries and a half. Those who wish to study the question more intimately—and it is well worth the trouble—will find it admirably set forth in the third

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volume of Captain Brinkley's monumental work on Japan, from which treasure-house of knowledge I must here largely draw.

At the beginning of the 17th century the famous Iyéyasu had become Shōgun, and had founded the dynasty of Shōguns which ended when Prince Tokugawa Keiki abdicated in the revolution of 1868. That Iyéyasu was fully alive to the danger which menaced his country from the intrigues of the Christian priests is evident from a passage of the Edict of 1614, in which the Shōgun, stung by a new bull of the Pope throwing open Japan to all the sects in defiance of his authority and that of his predecessor, condemned the Christians to banishment and made their creed anathema. The Christians, moreover, had banded themselves against Iyéyasu on the side of those who, in the civil war which arose on the death of the Taiko, were fighting to put the son of the latter in possession of the Regency. What wonder, then, that Iyéyasu should have looked upon the Church as a hotbed of political intrigue? Here are the words of the edict as they are given by Captain Brinkley: "The Christians have come to Japan not only to carry on commerce with their ships, but also to propagate an evil creed and subvert the true doctrine, to the end that they may effect a change of government in the country and thus usurp possession of it. The seed will produce a harvest of unhappiness. It must be eradicated." The Dutch and the English traders, who were jealous of the Portuguese, fomented the animosity of the Japanese against the Fathers, accusing them, with some show of reason, of designs of annexation and colonization. The fiat went forth. It was the beginning of the end, though the curtain did not fall on the last act of the Christian tragedy in Japan until 1638, when Iyémitsu, the grandson of Iyéyasu, was Shōgun.

Such, very briefly told, were the circumstances which culminated in the famous edict closing Japan, making it death for her sons to travel and forbidding the building of sea-going ships. The Christians had themselves to thank for the horrors by which it was preceded. When they first came to Japan they were made welcome, and had they contented themselves with preaching the Gospel, and teaching by the example of a holy life, they might have achieved great things. Sacerdotalism, grasping at temporal power, ruined all, and for 250 years Japan was isolated from the rest of mankind. Of what took place in

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those long years, of the internal politics, jealousies, intrigues, I shall not speak—with them we are not concerned this evening.

We must now skip from the beginning of the 17th century to the middle of the 19th. In the interval the nations of the West, spurred on by rivalry and the eagerness of competition, had made giant strides forward in every branch of knowledge. Japan had stood still—she had cut herself off from all intercourse with her fellow-man of whom, with the exception of her dealings with the Dutch and a few petty and abortive raids by Russia in the north, she had seen nothing. Such as she was when Iyémitsu issued his fulminating edict, such she still was when, in 1853, the American Commodore Perry, with four small ships, appeared off Uraga, not far from Yokosuka. Great was the consternation when the news reached the Shōgun's court. The numbers of the foreign ships and crews were greatly exaggerated. When we read again the story of what took place at that time it seems outside the bounds of possibility that a nation which by its feats of arms has won a foremost place among the naval and military powers of the world, should so short a time ago have been thrown into an agony of panic by so puny a force, coming indeed with no show of hostile intentions. Looking at the Japan of to-day, it makes one smile to think of the great measures taken by the Shōgun's Government in their dire extremity to repel the intruders. They called out the fire brigade, and ordered the fire bells to be rung so soon as the black ships should appear off Yedo! Remember, you younger folk, that this took place in the memory of men of my age, and then talk of contrast! Well! the fire bells were not rung, for Commodore Perry, having invited the Shōgun to conclude a treaty, sailed away and did not return until the following year to see how his advances might be met.

I said just now that Japan had stood still. I ought rather to have said that, so far as the government of the country was concerned, she had gone downhill. It is difficult to believe that rulers of the calibre of Nobunaga, Hidéyoshi, Iyéyasu, or Iyémitsu would have so entirely collapsed as the Government of the Shōgun did in circumstances which, indeed, were not altogether unexpected, for they had been warned by the King of Holland of what was likely to occur. But when the time for action came the power of decision was not in them. The

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moment was certainly critical. The answer to the question whether Japan should accept the overtures of the foreigner or attempt to repel him from her shores was fateful. The great men of old would proudly have taken upon themselves the responsibility of giving the answer in one sense or the other. The Bakufu, the Government of the Shōgun, effete and shrinking from the adoption of any bold measure, took two steps, either of which was enough to seal the fate of the Shōgunate. It must be remembered that the Shōguns still wielded an autocratic power, the Emperor having for centuries delegated to them the cares and responsibilities of state. The Daimyōs, moreover, the great feudal chiefs, although invested with almost royal authority in their own provinces, were still chafing under the galling yoke which had been set upon them by Iyéyasu and tightened by Iyémitsu; in the affairs of the Empire as a whole they had no voice. The Bakufu in their dismay reported the advent of the foreign ships to Kyōto, and called upon the Daimyōs for counsel. Two suicidal steps—a renunciation of the delegated authority, and the admission of those whom they claimed as vassals to a consultative voice in the Councils of the Empire.

Of course, there was a difference of advice. I do not think that anything could give a better idea of the state of public opinion at that time than the account given of the crisis in the Genji Yumé Monogatari.

The old Prince of Mito, the father of the last of the Shōguns, seems to have been a leading spirit in the party which was for expelling the foreigner. Here is his argument as given by the Japanese author quoted by Adams in his History of Japan. He maintained that foreigners would be the ruin of Japan. "At first," said he, "they will give us philosophical instruments, machinery, and other curiosities, will take ignorant people in, and trade being their chief object, they will manage bit by bit to impoverish the country; after which they will treat us just as they like; perhaps behave with the greatest rudeness and insult us, and end by swallowing up Japan. If we do not drive them away now, we shall never have another opportunity. If we now resort to a dilatory method of proceeding, we shall regret it afterwards when it will be of no use."

The Government, on the other hand, were wiser in their

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generation. They must have known better than anybody that Japan at that moment was not equipped for armed resistance. Their argument was: "If we try to drive the foreigners away they will immediately commence hostilities, and then we shall be obliged to fight. If we once get into a dispute, we shall have an enemy to fight who will not be easily disposed of. He does not care how long a time he will have to spend over it, but he will come with several myriads of men-of-war and surround our shores completely; he will capture our junks and blockade our ports, and deprive us of all hope of protecting our coasts. However large a number of ships we might destroy, he is so accustomed to that sort of thing that he would not care in the least. Even supposing that our troops were animated by patriotic zeal at the commencement of the war, after they had been fighting for several years their patriotic zeal would naturally become relaxed; the soldiers would become fatigued, and we should have to thank ourselves for this. Soldiers who have distinguished themselves are rewarded by grants of land, or else you attack and seize the enemy's territory, and that becomes your own property; so every man is encouraged to fight his best. But in a war with foreign countries a man may undergo hardships for years, may fight as if his life were worth nothing, and as all the land in the country has already owners, there will be none to give away as rewards; so we shall have to give rewards in words or money. In time the country would be put to an immense expense, and the people be plunged into misery. Rather than allow this, as we are not the equals of foreigners in the mechanical arts, let us have intercourse with foreign countries, learn their drill and tactics, and when we have made the nation as united as one family, we shall be able to go abroad and give lands in foreign countries to those who have distinguished themselves in battle; the soldiers will vie with one another in displaying their intrepidity, and it will not be too late then to declare war. Now we shall have to defend ourselves against these foreign enemies skilled in the use of mechanical appliances, with our soldiers whose military skill has considerably diminished during a long peace of three hundred years, and we certainly could not feel sure of victory, especially in a naval war."

Such was the perplexity, such were the hesitation and

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vacillation in which the Shōgun's ministers made their appeal to the Court of Kyōto—not that it brought them any great help in their difficulties. Its only result appears to have been an edict enjoining the offering up of prayers at the great shrines for the safety of Japan and the extermination of foreigners.

When the American commodore returned in the following year he found the Government ready to grant his request. But the arrangement that he made was but the thinnest ghost of a treaty: no more than leave to use three ports as harbours of refuge. It was not until four years later, in 1858, that Mr Townsend Harris on the part of the United States, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros on behalf of England and France, concluded the definite treaties with Japan, under the provisions of which the foreigner was entitled once more to reside and trade in Japan.

When we consider the grim determination with which Japan set her teeth to face the huge difficulties of these later years, it seems almost incredible that so short a time ago her rulers should have been thrown into dismay by the modest request for admission to three harbours of refuge. I think that I said no more than the truth when I described those days as black days. But Japan had reached that darkest hour which proverbially heralds the dawn.

The advent of foreigners was now, after 1858, an accomplished fact. That they were not altogether welcome guests is certain. There were many collisions and not a few tragedies, but these are so much a matter of common knowledge that I do not propose to dwell upon them at any length. Yet they were so important a feature of those days, a feature of which the disappearance is such a marked phenomenon of these modern times, that I cannot altogether pass them by unnoticed. Looking back dispassionately through the long vista of years, it seems to me now that those tragedies, deplorable as they might be, were in fact inevitable. We must remember all the circumstances in which Japan found herself in 1858. For more than two centuries the policy which inspired the laws of Iyémitsu had been deeply engraved in the hearts of the people. They had been taught to believe that the presence of the foreigner, however plausibly he might announce himself as a man of peace, whether as an apostle of Christianity or of commerce, meant nothing less to Japan than the ultimate loss of national freedom.

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They saw the sacred person of their Emperor reduced to a feudatory, their fatherland conquered and colonized, their countrymen shackled and enslaved. It seems difficult to-day to believe that such fears should have existed. But it was so. The documents of that time prove it. Then as the months and years rolled on foreign intercourse led to a state of things which was of necessity unique, because in no other country did the same conditions at any time exist. The great feudal lords—men like Shimadzu Saburō of Satsuma, Mori the Prince of Chōshiu, Yodo of Tosa—were no longer content as vassals to allow an overlord to stand between themselves and their Emperor. The casting off of a hated allegiance by the abolition of the Shōgunate was a dream of fascination. Some saw its realization in throwing in their lots with the foreigners, others in entangling the Shōgun in foreign complications; to this latter end the means were simple. There existed at that time a class of unattached Samurai—Rōnin, or Wavemen, as they were called—men who had left their clans, owning allegiance to no master, restless and free as the waves of the sea from which they took their name. Armed with a deadly weapon—the famous Japanese sword, sharp as a razor, heavy as a mallet—these men, setting their own lives at nought, ready for any fray, were a standing difficulty to the Shōgun's Government. Enthusiasts, fanatics, patriots—call them what you will—some of them were deeply imbued with the idea that to rid the land of the pestilent foreigner was a sacred duty which they owed to the ancestral gods of the country.

Another motive power which worked fiercely against the Western was the Yamato Damashi, the spirit of Old Japan—sentiment if you will, but sentiment which fostered a love amounting to worship for all that pertained to the ancient glories of the Island Empire. We must remember that this sentiment was the expression of a culture which was more than twelve centuries old when we first came in touch with it, bringing with us new ideas, every one of which was the direct negation of its tenets. No one has yet been found to deny that this culture, which added the dignity of age to a deeply poetic afflatus, was one of very lofty aspirations. I am speaking of those elements which were purely national. Of course it is admitted that in her philosophy and her ethics, Japan borrowed freely

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from China. From India she received Buddhism, a new religion which was largely grafted upon the old Shinto stock. But her history and her poetry were her own. Not all the teachings of Confucius and Mencius, not all the mystic abstractions of Buddhism, could have given birth to that wonderful spirit of Old Japan which, outliving the centuries and all the changes that have taken place, raised the cry of Banzai in the midst of the hell-fire of shrapnel, drowning the shrieks of the wounded, the groans of the dying, when Port Arthur had to be stormed, when the enemy had to be driven out of Mukden after the greatest battle that the world has seen, when the Armada of Rojdestvenski had to be scattered in the Sea of Japan. The myths and legends of the Kojiki and the Nihonji still excite the imagination and stimulate to deeds of derring-do; while the poems, the Naga-uta and the Tanka of the Manyōshiu, the collection of Ten Thousand Leaves, inspire the deepest veneration and affection for the Fatherland. When we remember that these annals and poems, dating from the days of the Heptarchy, have been for twelve hundred years and more the Helicon at which Japan has drunk, we may perhaps realize the power which they exercised at the arrival of the new-comers. We may read them for ourselves. The works of Satow, Aston, and others have placed them within our reach—and now, a week or two ago has appeared a new book of Japanese texts, translated by that eminent scholar, Mr. Dickins, which will give the world some idea of the beauties and riches of the Ten Thousand Leaves. Mr. Aston's version of the Nihongi opens up for us the legendary lore of the annals; the labours of various scholars, many of whose inestimable additions to our knowledge have appeared in the Transactions of the Japan Society, bring under our ken ancient ideas by which Japan was dominated.

There were then many forces at work which rendered far from easy the task of those enlightened men who saw that the future greatness of their country depended upon her entering the comity of nations: it is necessary to take note of those forces so that we may understand the order of national thought in Japan in the middle of the 19th century, but in the limits of one evening's discourse it is impossible to do more than glance at so pregnant a subject.

There was another difficulty—and here I come to a disagreeable

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confession. It must be admitted that many of the troubles which arose took their birth in the conduct of the foreigners themselves. I can call to mind a really great despatch of Sir Rutherford Alcock's, in which he described in unsparing language the stones of offence raised by the new-comers. There were amongst them men, happily a small minority, whose overbearing and discourteous behaviour were not calculated to conciliate a proud and highly cultured nation. The Japanese at that time had not sufficient knowledge of Europeans to be able to discriminate between classes, and the ways of an open port were not always such as to encourage admiration. Sir Rutherford's despatch was not to be contradicted; its censure was bitter, but it was not more than the facts warranted. The vast majority of our pioneers were as noble men as ever set sail eastward or westward; but of that flotsam and jetsam of disreputable humanity for which new shores, and especially new ports, have such an attraction we had more than our just share. The good which is in the world is for the most part a negative condition, and passes unobserved; the bad is positive, and attracts instant attention; so the good suffer for the bad.

Such was the condition of parties in Japan during the middle sixties. Strong prejudice against foreigners and a hatred founded upon a mistaken notion of patriotism on the one hand; on the other a powerful band of men, few in numbers as yet, but full of hope and enthusiasm, determined that their country should take her place among the nations, shaking off the slothful isolation of the past. So far as outward show went, Japan had altered very little since the days of Iyémitsu, when I landed in Japan in the month of October, 1866—just forty years ago. But to those who were brought into more intimate contact with the ruling classes, it was evident that a change was not far off. The feudal system was worn out; the great territorial nobles were in a fever of discontent; revolution was in the air. The Bakufu or Shōgun's Government had, as I have shown above, lost all its prestige, and its power was tottering. The picturesque old mediæval days had lingered in Japan for centuries after they had vanished elsewhere. Now, here also, they were to sink into the limbo of the past. At a bound Japan leapt out of the darkness of the Middle Ages into the fiercest light of the 19th century.

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This is not the occasion to dwell upon the intrigues and the many startling episodes which marked the transition. When the story comes to be adequately told, it will be seen that all the records of mankind can hardly furnish a more romantic tale. Pieces of it you may gather, indeed, from various books—here a little and there a little—but so far as I know as a comprehensive whole it has still to be written. Perhaps the days are yet too close to us for any unbiased account to be possible. It was an upheaval in which the deepest sentiments were stirred, and though most of the actors have passed away, some yet remain whose feelings must be spared. Suffice it to say that it was a passionate convulsion, though perhaps no revolution of equal magnitude has ever been carried into effect with less shedding of blood, or accepted in the end with less bitterness of spirit.

In 1869 the Mikado died, and the present Emperor came to the throne. The style adopted for the new reign was Meiji—Brilliant Government—an auspicious combination of words which the future promply justified. From the first the new Emperor, although a mere boy in years, showed himself to be actuated by liberal principles. In nothing did he show it more than in the attitude which he observed towards foreigners. The first year or two of his power were beset by complications which must often have been a source of great difficulty to the young sovereign and his advisers. But they came through them all triumphantly, and the era Meiji, in foreign as well as in domestic affairs, witnessed the inauguration of a new order of things. Surrounded by wise and prudent ministers, the Emperor, in the policy which he has from the beginning fostered, has given proof of no ordinary strength of character, while his generous attitude during the great war aroused the admiration of the whole world.

The example of a liberal policy towards foreigners which the Emperor set, the people were not slow to follow. Attacks upon foreigners from the year 1870 were a thing of the past. But who at that time would have foretold the spontaneous enthusiasm with which the whole nation was so soon to hail a foreign alliance? Who that remembered the old days, with their hatreds and animosities—feelings which must long have smouldered even where they were concealed—could even have dreamt of

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the whole-hearted welcome which was one day to be given to the Royal mission of a friendly sovereign?

Perhaps no indication of the depths of this change is more significant than that of which the present aspect of what is generally called "society" is an earnest. When I first arrived in Japan it was seldom indeed that any foreigner was privileged to enjoy the society of Japanese ladies. There were, indeed, one or two of us who were fortunate enough to be introduced to the wives of some of our friends, but these were rare exceptions. Now Japanese ladies, many of whom have adopted European fashions, freely enter into society; attending the balls and receptions of the Diplomatic Body; and one of the striking features of the ceremonies to which we were invited at Court last spring, was the presence of the Princesses of the Blood and of the great ladies of the Court.

The Empress Haruko, it is true, was not present; the regrettable cause of her absence being that Her Majesty was away ill, so we had not the opportunity of seeing that illustrious poetess who has made herself famous by her many charities and good works, and has earned no less admiration for the writings which bear witness to the graces of her mind, than by those deeds which spring from the goodness of her heart.

Of the marvellous successes of the Japanese arms by sea and by land it behoves not to speak here. They have been recorded by experts—we, who looked on from a distance of twelve thousand miles, stood amazed. But if we marvelled, what must have been the wonder of the older generation in Japan itself—men yet living who remember the days of swords and spears and bows and arrows? How can we in any way produce something like an analogy? Picture to yourselves the archers of Cressy or Agincourt looking on while their boys handle the huge artillery of to-day. Fancy the captain of the *Harry Grace de Dieu*—the battleship of which King Henry the Eighth was so proud—watching his son take the mighty *Dreadnought* into action! That may, perhaps, bring home to you what a Samurai of 1850, the man whose sword was his soul, may have felt on reading of the storming of Port Arthur, of the northward driving of Kuropatkin through Manchuria, of the fateful naval victory, the greatest since Trafalgar, of the Sea of Japan. It is the marvellous rapidity of the transformation scene which the

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harlequin's wand of science has unfolded upon which I wish to lay stress.

The wand of science! Where will in the future the orders be placed which hitherto have enriched the shipwrights and the cannon makers of the West? What we saw this spring gave rise to the thought that possibly in the not very remote future the West may be the customer of the East for ships and material of war. At any rate Japan will most surely satisfy her own wants. Perhaps she may have something to spare for others, and may compete in the producing market with the Armstrongs, the Krupps, and the great firms which now supply the world. Nor is it in the destroying arts alone that Japan has won for herself a proud place among the nations. I can remember the time when Dr. Willis, a name which will always be received in Japan as that of a hero, first taught the Japanese what were the ideals of a hospital, and now the great surgical experts tell us that from the Japan of to-day we in our turn have much to learn.

Change, change everywhere! An Emperor of Japan, surrounded by the Princes of the Blood, goes down to a railway station to welcome an English Prince. Who would have thought of such a thing in 1866, in days when the Emperor was a mystery and the railway station something undreamt of? At a banquet in the old castle of Yedo, within which no foreigner had penetrated, the Tenshi proposes the toast of the King of England. An Imperial Princess opens a ball at the British Embassy with the Ambassador, a concert is given at Uyéno under the patronage of the Imperial family, in which the music of Rossini, Wagner, Mendelssohn, Beethoven is performed by Japanese young ladies making up a full European orchestra. Houses built in the Western style have taken the places of the old Yashikis with their long low ranges of guard-houses; whole quarters of the town are reserved for European buildings. Tramways cross the streets of the old Yedo; overhead the wind moans through a network of electric wires. What would Sir Rutherford Alcock, Lawrence Oliphant, Sherard Osborne, the men who first described the Old Japan, say to all this? Above all, not a sword to be seen, not a single swashbuckler ruffling his way through what once was the capital of Shōgun. But perhaps the greatest wonder of all is to see the freedom in which

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Christian missionaries of all sects live in every part of the Empire.

Our appreciation of the changes we are recording would be clearly incomplete were we not for one moment to glance at her present financial position—not a picturesque subject, and yet one that is so full of meaning. For, to quote an old American saying, "the dollars speak."

It was in the year 1870 that Japan made her first appearance as a borrower in the London money market. As soon as matters had quieted down after the first upheaval of the Goisshin, the great revolution, the new Government was in want of money with which to set to work upon that development which had been from the first its chief aim and ambition. I had just come home from the Far East, and there did not happen to be any one else in London at the time who had any special knowledge of the then very new Japan. I could not imagine why so many gentlemen with names absolutely unknown to me—many of them German—were so anxious to make my acquaintance. They drew the Foreign Office for me, they hunted my lodgings; at length one gentleman, Mr. Julius Beer, ran me to earth in my club. The secret then came out. Was it safe to lend Japan money? was she solvent? Well, I was able to reassure my cross-examiner upon that point, and a loan was successfully brought out by Messrs. Erlanger and Beer. But under what conditions? It was but a small sum that was asked for—a million, if I remember right—and for this pitiful accommodation Japan was to pledge the right of making railways and to pay the promoters twelve per cent., of which nine per cent. went to the public. Thirty thousand a year for a term of years was a fine plum out of which to pay the expenses of the city gentlemen, neither had the investing public any reason to complain of nine per cent. with perfect safety. Such was the back-breaking load which was laid upon Japan by the raising of her first loan.

As to the present state of her credit and financial position, let Mr. Takahashi speak. That gentleman has recently arrived in England on a mission connected with the conversion of the six per cent. Customs Loans. Let me quote from the *Times* of the 8th of October what he says as to the financial outlook.

"At home money is very easy and the outlook is favourable.

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Development and progress as a result of the war are to be observed on all hands. The shares of the South Manchurian Railway which we acquired as one of the results of the late war have been eagerly taken up by our people, and a private telegram just received states that there is reason to believe that they have been applied for about 100 times over. Our people have become imbued with wider economic, financial, and industrial ideas. Everywhere one sees indications of a desire for improvement in every department on a greatly extended scale, and on all sides preparations are being made to embark upon enterprises of a much larger character than would have been dreamt of a short while ago."

Well! in finance as well as in other matters Japan has not stood still. She no longer needs the backing of an obscure attaché to enable her to borrow money at twelve per cent. Her financiers rank among the first in the world; and when Mr. Takahashi appears among us as her Commissioner, he is welcomed as an honoured colleague by the magnates of New Court and Threadneedle Street.

Having touched thus briefly upon the many material changes which these forty years have witnessed, I must refer to one of which the glaring inconsistency is nothing short of startling. At the moment when Japan, casting to the winds the old musty methods and schooling of China, has been throwing herself heart and soul into the freshness and vigour of the 19th century, it is marvellous to see that every year she has more and more engrafted into her language the deformity of a mass of bastard Chinese words—a Chinese so mispronounced according to arbitrary Japanese methods that no scholar that ever took a degree in the Forest of Pencils at Peking would understand one syllable of it. The perversion is analogous to our own barbarous pronunciation of Latin and Greek. So real is the change that our greatest Japanese scholar, to whom I mentioned the subject, told me that on returning to Japan after a few years' absence he found that he had practically to learn a new language. The old Japanese such as I remember it was soft and musical, its rhythm was so perfect that it was called the Italian of the East. Among men of letters a few Chinese words were interspersed here and there, but there was a world of difference between that and the croaking staccato jargon which has replaced the old

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flowing many-syllabled and inflected words which made up the tender melody of a Japanese sentence. What can be the reason? Fashion is a wonderful magician! Constitutional government, parliamentary institutions, the thousand and one miracles of the modern world are certainly not of Chinese birth. Let who will explain why the discord of Chinese monosyllables should be necessary to give expression to them, setting out of tune a language whose beauty was the inheritance of the centuries.

There is at present an influential society, the Romaji hiromé kai, the object of which is the substitution of the Roman writing for the ideographs of the Chinese. For us Westerns (and I venture to think for Japan herself) the attainment of this end is devoutly to be wished. Men of influence in the world of politics and in the world of letters are working hard to bring it about, and I believe that in time their efforts will be crowned with success. Perhaps the change may bring with it a reaction in favour of the old language, the tones of which were real poetry. It seems so contrary to the fitness of things that the adoption of the methods, the science, and even the music and costume of the West should go hand in hand with the growing tendency to introduce Chinese modes of expression into the pure well of Japanese undefiled.

It is, perhaps, overbold for a foreigner even to give utterance to a pious wish on such a matter; but, then, the whole subject of this paper is one requiring no little audacity. I have endeavoured briefly, and no doubt very roughly, to sketch some of the more salient phenomena which struck me during my recent visit to Japan. I found it at my first coming, in 1866, in the middle of the 13th century. At my third coming it was in the middle of the 21st, for there are many phases of material progress in which Japan has outstripped her teachers.

When I left her in 1870, she was busy working out the problems of her own political salvation. I went back in 1873—she was then learning and toiling, training herself assiduously for the great part she was to play in the world's history. In 1906, I found a great and heroic nation emerging from a war in which she had shown not only those great qualities which gave success to her arms, but also the magnanimity and self-restraint in victory which are the greatest triumph of the Conqueror. In forty years Japan, from being an unknown country, a negligible

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quantity in the councils of the nation, has raised herself to the rank of a first-rate power, and from this time forth it is impossible to conceive any Congress, meeting to settle the affairs of the world, at which she should not be represented, and in which her statesmen should not have a powerful voice. This nation whose subjects might not travel, whose shipwrights might not build a sea-going vessel, has become a great maritime power, with interests in every shore upon which the waves of the sea break. In her arsenals great battleships of 19,000 tons are ringing with the clang of the hammers beating against their iron sides—at Yokosuka, Sasébo, Kuré, myriads of workmen are toiling, moulding, fashioning, turning, filing, each man filled with the sense of the importance of his own task, the conviction that to him has been vouchsafed a mighty privilege, the honour-giving duty of contributing his mite to the glory of the Fatherland. Here is, indeed, a new outlet for the old Yamato Damashi, the Spirit of Old Japan. Success such as has aroused the wonder of mankind has not been followed by that spirit of puffed-up content which allows the sword to rust in the scabbard. Rather has it been a spur to further endeavour. By sea and by land; in dockyards, in hospitals, in laboratories, in schools and academies, work, strenuous work, work which represents the love of country and the pride of race, is going on. A restless ambition inspires the New Japan, the same glorious ambition which Hippolochus, the Lycian Prince, enjoined upon his son as his last farewell before the Trojan war, always to be the best and to tower above all others. The Old Japan is dead, but its soul survives in a spirit of patriotism and chivalry as lofty as any that the world has seen. Daimyos and Kugés have disappeared. The feuds of the clans, the turbulent frettings of the Wavemen, have faded into the past. In the place of these elements of unrest we see the new birth of a noble people bound together by one great and glorious aspiration, following the guidance of an auspicious star leading them to heights of which their fathers never dreamt. There is no cement like that of blood spilt in a common and noble cause. The warriors of Satsuma, Choshiu, and Tosa fighting shoulder to shoulder with the men of Aidzu, who held Wakamatsu against the Mikado's troops, have laid for ever the ghosts of past rivalry and hatred.

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My task is done. I hope that I have shown you that whatever greatness the future may have in reserve for Japan, it is not too much to say that the period Meiji must ever remain the most conspicuous landmark in her history. Never again can there come a turning-point of such portentous consequence. She may have good and noble sovereigns, she will have none nobler, none better, than the august ruler who now sits upon the throne, and who for thirty-nine years has devoted his life to the service of the country which he loves so well. He will be remembered, and his name will live not in Japan alone. But nowhere will his memory be held in greater reverence than in the country which he has helped to unite to his own in the happy bonds of an alliance which, making as it does for the peace of the world, we hope may never be dissolved.

After the Paper was read the CHAIRMAN invited a discussion upon the subject, which had aroused so much interest.

Mr. F. V. DICKINS, M.J.S., said he was afraid anything he had to say would appear stale and flat after the stirring and picturesque address to which they had just listened. Lord Redesdale had drawn a portrait of Japanese history up to the time of the opening up of the country in 1859, and had traced the further progress of the Japanese people from that year to the present time—a period of nearly fifty years.

He thought it might perhaps be worth while to remark that the year 1859 witnessed both the appearance of Darwin's book on the evolution of organic life and the first step of the island Empire towards the most important national evolution the world had ever seen. He himself was in Japan for the first time in 1862, and he remembered very well the fascination under which he fell from the first moment of landing—a fascination from which he had never been able to escape.

There were very many matters in Lord Redesdale's address which suggested interesting discussion, but he would first select one which would appeal generally to the audience. He knew that the glorious successes of the Japanese arms during the late campaign had been a great surprise to many, but to him it had been no surprise, for long ago a poet had written a poem in which he prophesied the loyalty and devotion to be shown by Japanese soldiers in a coming campaign.

He further went on to say that the fervour and eagerness shown by the Japanese during the last fifty years, and of which he himself had been an eye-witness—an eagerness to know and get to the very bottom of things which were to prove to their advantage—had been displayed in as great a degree thirteen hundred years ago as in the latter half of the 19th century. They had always shown a remarkable desire

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to acquire information, though never to give it, and he remembered being very much struck, after his arrival in Japan, by the way in which the people had hemmed themselves in and cut themselves off from the rest of the world. He had written at the time, "If this people ever get rid of this bondage, they will make the knowledge of the world."

Lord Redesdale had been kind enough to mention a book of his. It was a work in which he had endeavoured to make the rest of the world familiar with the Japanese poetry of twelve hundred years ago. Lord Redesdale's words had been much too kind, as it was a very imperfect work, and gave but a shadowy and unfinished picture. But it had the advantage of being written in plain Western print, and so was more easily valued by Western readers.

As to what the Lecturer had said about the harm done to the Japanese language by the influence of Chinese, he was entirely at one with him. He considered, however, that it was an almost inevitable result, for in their early days the Japanese had no written characters of their own, and they had been obliged to take into use the script of China; hence gradually Chinese pronunciation, being simpler and easier, had also crept into the Japanese language. Then, too, the facilities of composition in Chinese were so great that the Japanese were tempted to neglect their own tongue in favour of an easier one.

It had always been his experience that, whatever difficulty confronted the Japanese people, they treated it with a degree of confidence, courage, and dignity quite unequalled in history.

Count MUTSU (*Member of Council, J.S.*) said that the hope which he ventured to express at the last banquet of the Japanese Society, that the author of "The Tales of Old Japan" might favour them with some "Tales of New Japan," having been so soon and so happily realized, he felt it a great pleasure, and also a sort of natural duty, to propose a vote of thanks to the Lecturer.

He was sure that they had all enjoyed his paper. The special qualifications of which the Lecturer was in possession, as well as the exceptional opportunities which he had had, both during his long residence in Japan many years ago, and also when he revisited it so recently, naturally conduced to make his paper as interesting as it was instructive.

It was very gratifying for the Japanese to hear the kind words of kind friends who were in complete sympathy with their work and efforts. During the past forty years, indeed, many a change had taken place in Japan. While they could not claim that the change was in all respects for the better, still it was satisfactory for them to know that there had been a happy and harmonious blending of their own old civilization,

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which the Society had done much to investigate, with the new civilization of the Occident, in the introduction of which this country had so materially assisted them.

But it was a source of far greater satisfaction for them to know that they were far from being content with what they had achieved, that they were well aware of their shortcomings, for the improvement of which they were determined to spare neither patience nor labour in order to be able to hold their own in the path of the world's progress.

In proposing a vote of thanks, he trusted that it would be acceptable to the company present.

Sir TREVOR LAWRENCE (*Vice-President J.S.*) said he had very great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks of the Meeting to Lord Redesdale for his admirable paper. He considered it a most fortunate thing that, among the Embassy that was sent to Japan a short time ago, a prominent position should have been found for their friend and Lecturer, Lord Redesdale. He personally felt under a great obligation to him, inasmuch as it was Lord Redesdale who had pointed out to him the wonders and mysteries of Japanese art. There is no doubt that among the Japanese of the present day were to be found some of the most eminent men engaged in solving the most complicated scientific questions in regard to health and pathology, as well as other subjects of the greatest difficulty. They themselves ought to feel proud of the term which had been used of the Japanese, namely, "The Englishmen of the East."

The vote was carried unanimously.

Lord REDESDALE returned his best thanks for the very kind way in which the Meeting had listened to him that evening, and said that before the evening closed he would like to be allowed, as Vice-President, to offer his congratulations to the Japan Society in possessing as their President so distinguished a statesman as Baron Komura. Everybody knew what Baron Komura had done; it was impossible for him to hide his light under a bushel. They knew him to be the author of one of the wisest, one of the most generous diplomatic measures the world had ever known, for to him was reserved the glory of putting the final seal of magnanimity to the great toils of Togo and others, and his name would rank among the foremost in the history of the world. They were proud to have him there for the first time that night as their President, and he himself was deeply grateful for the honour he had done him in taking the chair that evening.

He proposed a vote of thanks to Baron Komura for being present on the first night of their new Session amid all his responsible and arduous duties.

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This was seconded by Mr. R. A. McLean (*Member of Council, J.S.*), and carried unanimously.

Baron Komura thanked his lordship for his very kind words respecting him. He said he had accepted the post of President of the Japan Society during his stay in London, but he was not quite a stranger to the Society, having often enjoyed the Meetings of the Branch of the Japan Society in Tōkyō, although he was sure he would enjoy them much more if he were not always called upon to speak. He very much appreciated the value of the Society, for he was sure it had done much good in fostering and promoting a wider knowledge of England among the Japanese people, and it was his sincere hope and belief that the work of the Japan Society would prove even more useful in the future than during the past.

The proceedings then terminated.

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THE

NINETY-SECOND ORDINARY MEETING,

(SECOND OF THE SIXTEENTH SESSION,)

DECEMBER 12TH, 1906.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, London.*]

Professor W. GOWLAND, F.I.C., F.S.A., M.J.S., took the Chair at 8.30 P.M., when a Paper entitled "SHINTO," by Mr. W. G. ASTON, C.M.G., D.LIT., M.J.S., was read.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the Meeting, said that Mr. W. G. Aston, the author of the paper, had for many years resided in Japan—from about 1864 to 1888 or 1890—during which he had occupied the posts of Consul, Japanese Secretary, and for some time Consul-General in Korea.

Throughout this lengthy sojourn he had paid special attention to the study of Shinto, and, in consequence, had written the only reliable book on the subject.

It was with much sympathy and regret that he had to announce that as Mr. Aston had long been an invalid, Mr. Crewdson, the Hon. Secretary, would read the paper.

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SHINTO.

By W. G. ASTON, C.M.G., D.LIT., M.J.S.

IN a recent article in the *Nineteenth Century*, the great indebtedness of Japan to China for everything that constitutes civilization was dwelt upon by its author, Mr. Herbert Giles. It is nevertheless possible to catch glimpses of a period when Japan was still untouched by Chinese influence. The somewhat meagre notices which, about the Christian epoch, begin to appear in Chinese books, show us a nation differing in a marked manner from the Chinese. The oldest specimens of the Japanese language are wholly different both in structure and vocabulary from that of China. Ethnology tells the same story. The alarmist "Yellow peril" talk of racial affinity and racial sympathy between the two nations is about as reasonable as if Englishmen and Russians were concerned. Shinto,[1] the old native religion of Japan, contains little that can be traced to Chinese sources. It is true that during the three hundred years which elapsed between the introduction of Chinese learning and the compilation of the works from which our knowledge of Shinto is derived, certain foreign elements filtered in. But they are of no great importance. In its main features, Shinto is broadly distinguished from the old State religion of China with which some have endeavoured to connect it. The chief deity of the latter is Tien, that is to say, Heaven. In Japan, Heaven is not a God, only the region where the Gods dwell; Shangti, the personal supreme deity of the Chinese, has no counterpart in Japan. An old ritual, invoking blessings from Chinese deities upon the Mikado, which has been preserved along with the native formulas of prayer, illustrates very strikingly the difference between the State religions of the two countries.

[1] Shinto is literally "The Way of the Gods." Shintoism is a tautology, as *to* and *ism* mean the same thing. We do not say Islamism or Bushidoism.

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The authorities for our knowledge of the older Shinto are three works, the "Kojiki," the "Nihongi," and the "Yengishiki." The two former were compiled early in the 8th century. They contain a record of the old myths and legends of Japan, with more or less historical notices of Shinto as practised at and before that time. The "Yengishiki," which emanates from the 10th century, deals with the ritual. These works present a full picture of the older Shinto. It is drawn by the Japanese themselves, and is therefore undisfigured by the unconscious prejudices which vitiate so much of the evidence available to us respecting other cults in the same early stage of progress.

It has been rendered to a great extent accessible to European students by the writings of Sir E. Satow (the founder of our knowledge of Shinto), Mr. B. H. Chamberlain, Dr. Florenz, and others.[1] The older writers on this subject are untrustworthy, and should be neglected by the serious student. Kaempfer's account of Shinto is absurdly inaccurate.

The Shinto described in these old books is a rudimentary religion, standing somewhere near the level of the ancient cults of Egypt and Mexico. It is crudely polytheistic, the deities being numbered by hundreds, if not thousands. There is no Supreme Being, properly so called, and not much trace of what Max Müller has called henotheism. The Sun-goddess Amaterasu is the most important deity both in myth and cult. She is surrounded by a court of minor gods, of which that of the Mikado is the prototype, and is spoken of in terms appropriate to a sovereign personage. But her rule does not extend to the sea or to Hades, and even in Heaven there is a Council of the Gods which decides all important matters.

The myth of the Sun-goddess is as follows: Born on earth, she was, on account of her radiant appearance, sent up to the sky, of which she was made the ruler. Her younger brother, Susa no wo (the Rain-storm), was appointed God of the Land of Yomi (Hades), but before going thither he ascended to Heaven to take leave of his sister. "By reason," says the "*Nihongi*," "of the fierceness of his divine nature, there was a commotion in the sea, and the hills and mountains groaned aloud," as he passed upwards. The Sun-goddess, suspecting

[1] Since this paper was read, M. Michel Revon's important "Shinntoisme" has appeared.

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evil, arrayed herself as a warrior and confronted him armed with sword, bow, and arrows. Susa no wo then protested that he was only coming to pay a friendly visit before his departure for Yomi, and suggested that they should procreate children together. This was done by the Sun-goddess, who crunched in her mouth the sword and jewels which she wore and spurted out the fragments. Eight children were born in this way, the eldest of whom, named Masa-ya-a-katsu-hayahi ama no oshi-ho-mi-mi, was the ancestor of Jimmu Tenno, the legendary first Sovereign of Japan, and through him of his successors the Mikados unto this day. These events are supposed to have happened about 2,000,000 years ago.

But the relations between a Rain-storm god and a Sun-goddess cannot be permanently amicable. Susa no wo's genuine character comes out in his subsequent proceedings, when he destroyed the irrigation channels of his sister's rice-fields, made horses lie down in them, and flung a piebald colt which he had flayed alive into the sacred weaving-hall where she sat weaving the garments of the deities. Indignant at these insults, the Sun-goddess retired to the rock-cave of Heaven and left the world to darkness. The other deities assembled in consternation before the door of the cave, and, by means suggested by the Shinto ritual of the time when the myth was composed, at last induced her to come forth.

Another important pair of deities was Izanagi and Izanami. They are represented as having procreated the Sun-goddess, the Moon-god, the Wind-god, the various islands and provinces of Japan, the deities of mountains, rivers, and seas, the goddesses of Earth, Water, and Clay, with many more. Izanami lost her life in giving birth to the God of Fire, and went down to the land of Yomi (Hades), whither her husband followed her. He was ultimately driven off by the "Ugly Females of Yomi" and other personifications of death and disease. To the minds of the Japanese at the time when this myth had its origin, Yomi was not so much an actual place (though some thought so) as a metaphor for the grave. There is reason to suspect that Izanagi and Izanami are in reality personifications of the male and female principles of Chinese philosophy, and therefore of comparatively recent origin. The same may be said of their parent Musubi, the God of Growth. He is too abstract for a

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primitive deity. At a very early period he became split up into two gods, Kami-musubi and Taka-musubi, *kami* (divine) and *taka* (high) being originally mere epithets of one and the same personage. Later other Musubi were added, bringing the number up to five. As one or many, this deity had a considerable popularity in the Augustan age of Japan. But he proved too philosophical for the vulgar taste, and his cult has long been neglected.

The Food-goddess shares with the Sun-goddess the honour of having a shrine at Isé, the holiest spot in Japan. A myth tells us that she was slain by Susa no wo, or, according to another account, the Moon-god. Grain of all kinds produced from various parts of her body was preserved by the Sun-goddess as the seed which her beloved race of men should cultivate for food. Except at Isé, the Food-goddess is now, for the most part, superseded by Inari, the Grain-god. The difference of name and sex does not prevent modern Shinto theologians from identifying these two deities.

Phallicism was a very prominent feature of the older Shinto. Its symbols were regarded as representing the (procreative) life-giving power, and were therefore used as magical appliances to repel influences (personified as demons) hostile to life, more especially epidemic diseases, and deified for their supposed services to mankind in this way. This cult has long since disappeared from official Shinto, but traces of it are still to be found in remote places, especially in the east of Japan. Probably few of those who witness, or even of those who take part in, the great annual festival of Goryôye at Kiōtō are aware that its principal feature is a bowdlerised phallic procession.

Another important deity is Ohonamochi, the God of the "Great Shrine" of Idzumo. He is an Earth-god, and is frequently described as the "Great God who made the land." With him is associated a dwarf-god called Sukuna-bikona, who is said to have taught to mankind magic and medicine, two arts closely connected with each other in early times.

These are some of the more important deities of the older Shinto. They are nature-gods, not deified men, ancestors or otherwise. Of the two paths along which early man is guided towards the idea of God, viz. the personification of natural objects and phenomena, and the ascription to mortal men of

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superhuman powers, Shinto in its earlier stages followed the former, and hardly at all the latter. It has no undoubted deified men, though there are a few cases of the deification of human types or classes. What, therefore, are we to understand by the assertion, so often made by European writers and even by modern Japanese, that Shinto is essentially a cult of ancestors? Why should Amaterasu be called the first ancestor of the Mikado, or the temples of Ise and Idzumo "shrines of immaculate ancestrism"? It is hardly necessary to point out that there can be no question here of genuine ancestor-worship. But in ancient Japan, each of the great Houses who held the reins of government, central and local, by a hereditary tenure, had a patron-deity of its own selection known as the *Uji-gami* (House or Surname deity), to whom it paid special worship. Originally nature or class deities, in accordance with a tendency for which there are parallels elsewhere, they came in course of time to be regarded as the ancestors of the Houses which maintained their worship. Nowadays few educated Japanese give credence to the genealogies which trace their descent from the Sun-goddess, the Sea-gods, the God of Growth, the Great Crow which was sent down from Heaven to act as guide to Jimmu Tenno's armies, and other similar *Uji-gami*. Surely Europeans cannot be expected to stultify themselves by using terms which imply that we are more credulous than they.

Ancestor-worship of this kind is entirely different in character from the cult of the worshipper's real ancestors which is prevalent in China, and also, to some extent, in Japan.

Except in the most ancient period, there have been a good many cases of the worship of deified heroes. The best known of these is Temmangu, a statesman of the 9th century, celebrated for his learning and his promotion of education. He is now a very popular god, with shrines everywhere. A special cult is paid to him by schoolboys and pedagogues. His worship was inspired to a large extent by that of Confucius in China.

Shinto affords many examples of a confusion of ideas which is familiar to students of mythology. The natural object or phenomenon is sometimes itself the god, and sometimes only the embodiment, abode, or manifestation of a more or less anthropomorphic being. Shakespeare, in the *Tempest*, makes Iris call herself "the watery arch and messenger" of Juno

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Ovid's Acheloüs is at one time a river and at another an anthropomorphic river-god. We speak of Ceres and Bacchus as equivalent to corn and wine. The phrase "Sub Jove frigido" reminds us that there was a time when Jupiter was the weather itself as well as a distinct god of the weather. In Japan, the Sun-goddess is at one time, to use the words of the great Shinto theologian Motoöri, "the actual sun in Heaven," but at others she is the Ruler of the Sun or of Heaven, an anthropomorphic personage who does many things with which her solar character has no apparent connection. In the ritual for placating the Fire-God, he is sometimes called the deity of Fire and sometimes simply "Fire." Still more significant is the circumstance that the ceremony comprises the actual making of fire by means of the fire-drill and paying worship to it. There are at this day numerous cases of this primary form of worship in Japan. Offerings are made at the New Year to the well or stream from which water is drawn for domestic purposes; a piece of ground, before being built upon or reclaimed for cultivation, is first solemnly placated; the sun is worshipped at sunrise or when he issues from clouds after long obscuration. The kitchen-furnace is the object of a sort of cult. Here there is no god distinct from the things themselves, there is no myth attached to them, and they have often neither name nor sex. The prevalence in Shinto of so primitive a form of worship is the sure mark of a comparatively undeveloped religion.

Another characteristic which points to the same conclusion is the comparative feebleness of its grasp of the conception of spirit. The old gods of Shinto, like those of Homer, are not spiritual beings (*pace* Herbert Spencer and his school); they are not "ghost-gods." They are modelled, not on the spirits of deceased men, but on living human beings. They eat and drink, marry and have children, till the ground, become ill and die. Their corpses rot in the grave. These are not the ways of ghosts. Indeed, ghosts are not so much as mentioned in the old records. Shinto generally has an abhorrence of everything connected with death. Yet there are cases in which the gods are regarded as spirits or as having spiritual counterparts. The gods dwell in Heaven. But they manifest themselves on earth by conferring blessings and sending calamity on mankind. How can this be? The answer is that it is their *mitama* (august

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jewel or precious thing, *i.e.* spirit) which, emanating from them, produces these results. It is the Sun-goddess's *mitama* which resides at Isé, and the *mitama* of Ohonamochi which, according to an old myth, was settled by him in the shrine of Miwa, as a reward for his aid in making and ordering the land. Sometimes there are two *mitama* of the same deity, one a good, the other a malignant spirit. The Food-goddess is frequently called Uka no mitama, or the Food-spirit.

There are practically no idols in Shinto. The place of the idol or image is taken by the *shintai* (god-body), or concrete object in which the god's *mitama* is supposed to have his abode. The *shintai* may be a mirror, a sword, a cushion, a round stone, a string of beads, etc. It is placed in a box in the holiest part of the shrine, and is so seldom inspected that even the priest himself sometimes does not know of what it consists. The mirror of the Sun-goddess at Isé is a *shintai.* The material-minded Japanese of the lower class often confuse the *mitama* with the *shintai.*

Secular and sacred are much less differentiated in Shinto than in more highly developed religions. The Mikado is at once the sovereign and the high priest. It is true that he deputed most of his priestly functions, but in several of the great rites of Shinto he personally took the leading part. Shinto was a department of State the duties of which were hereditary in certain families, as were all offices in ancient times. But they had other functions, and did not form a sacerdotal caste. They had no distinctive costume, and were not celibates. At the present day, the ordinary Shinto functionary is a mere layman. He has no special training, which indeed is not required for an official whose only business is to read prayers at intervals and to see to the repairs of the shrine. He has no pastoral charge, and nobody dreams of applying to him for spiritual or moral guidance. His officiating at so-called Shinto funerals is an innovation which dates from the Restoration of 1868.

Offerings to the Shinto gods consisted originally of articles of food, animal or vegetable, and saké. To these was subsequently added clothing, whether in the shape of the fibre from which the cloth was woven, pieces of cloth, or made-up garments. The cloth is now represented by the well-known *gohei*—wands with scallops of paper attached to them, which may be seen

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in every shrine. It is not supposed that the gods actually eat the food or wear the clothing presented to them. As one of the old rituals has it, they are offered "in token of respect."

The weakest point of Shinto is the almost total absence of a definite moral element. The ceremony of "Great Purification," which was celebrated twice a year for the absolution of the sins of the officials and people, mentions incest, witchcraft, wounds, and certain interferences with agricultural operations in its schedule of offences in the sight of the gods. But that is all. The other offences mentioned have a more or less ceremonial character. Even wounding and homicide were regarded as causing uncleanness rather than carrying with them a moral stigma. The wounded man was equally unclean with his assailant. Contact with death in any form, and disease, rendered a man unfit for taking part in the religious services. Here we can trace many analogies with the Levitical law. It does not follow that the ancient Japanese had no morality. Shinto neither sanctions marriage nor condemns adultery. Yet we know that adultery could be made a matter for action in the courts of justice. Indeed, a very considerable advance in morality is necessary for the very existence of all organized communities. Modern Japanese cannot deny this defect of Shinto. But they argue that moral codes are superfluous, as every one knows intuitively right from wrong. Shinto, it has been said, tells you "to follow the dictates of your own conscience." But it does nothing of the kind. It does not deal in any moral maxims. Even the word for "conscience" forms no part of its vocabulary.

The introduction of Buddism into Japan had for a long time little effect on Shinto. But in the 8th century there began a curious process by which the latter religion became gradually penetrated by Buddhist rites and ideas. Buddhism does not propagate its tenets by the sword, but, for priestcraft, its missionaries may hold their own with Jesuits or any others. They discovered that the Sun-goddess was nothing more than an avatar of the Buddhist Vairoćana, and found similar counterparts for most of the other Shinto deities. It is hardly possible to say whether the very popular War-god Hachiman is really Shinto or Buddhist. The Yomi or Hades of old Shinto now became a place of torture for the wicked, purity of mind and

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morals was extolled over mere ceremonial cleanliness, and generally a great advance was made in depth and spirituality. In the beginning of the 19th century, however, a reaction set in. The famous Shinto theologians, Motoöri and Hirata, shocked at the stealthy intrusion of an alien religion into the old native cult, devoted themselves with the greatest zeal and energy to the "Revival of pure Shinto." The movement initiated by them, though really reactionary, and from the religious point of view a loss rather than a gain, had a certain measure of success. They had many adherents, and their views exercised a very material influence in restoring the Mikado in 1868 to the position to which, as the descendant of the Sun-goddess, he was *de jure* entitled. The expulsion of Buddhist priests and ritual from the shrines of the old cult was also largely due to this cause.

The question may be asked, In how far has Shinto contributed to the moral ideals which, under the name of *bushido*, have recently attracted some notice in this country? The answer must be, Very little. Shinto has no moral ideals to speak of. In the main, *bushido*, though pervaded by a strong infusion of the national spirit, or *Yamato damashi*, comes originally from China. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the governing class of the Japanese nation devoted itself with astonishing enthusiasm and industry to the study of the moral teachings, the history, and the philosophy of ancient China. A class of scholars, known as the Kangakusha (scholars of the literature of the Chinese Han or Kan dynasty), propagated in innumerable treatises high ideals of courage, unselfishness, courtesy, kindness, frugality, and fidelity derived from this source, modifying them, as is the Japanese wont, in accordance with the national genius. Those who would know what *bushido* really is, should study the works of such men as the Kangakusha Yekken, Hakuseki, and above all, Kiuso. There was open and continual war between the Kangakusha and the Buddhists, and *bushido* owes little to the latter. We must credit Christianity with some features of the later *bushido*, such as the dethronement of revenge and suicide from the honourable position which they held in the former bushi's scale of virtues, as well as the substitution of the Red Cross for the *coup de grace* in his treatment of a wounded enemy.

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It is difficult to augur a great future for Shinto. Especially when stripped of Buddhist and Chinese accretions, it is far too rudimentary a cult to satisfy the spiritual and moral wants of a nation which has, in these latter days, raised itself to so high a pitch of enlightenment and civilisation. It cannot for a moment compete in its ritual—a mere skeleton of the elaborate ceremonial of former times—nor in its use of the arts of sculpture and architecture, nor in costumes, nor in church organisation, nor in profoundity of thought, nor in moral teaching with its great rival, Buddhism. And now Christianity is also in the field.

In opening the discussion, the CHAIRMAN said that the very learned paper to which they had just listened contained several points of interest on which those present might like to remark, and if any non-members were present they were heartily invited to take a part. They were that evening honoured by the presence of Count Bertin, who was now president of the Japan Society of Paris. He was sure that the Meeting would be greatly pleased to hear any remarks with which he might favour them.

Count BERTIN, M.J.S., excused himself on the plea that he would have to spend a considerably longer time in London before he could trust himself to speak at any length in the English tongue.

Mr. CAREY HALL, M.J.S., said the paper they had just heard that evening from Mr. Aston's pen condensed in popular form the fruits of many years of hard labour, and evidenced very advanced knowledge in this subject. Apart from the light which it threw on the early religious development of the Japanese, he considered it had an important bearing on the philosophy of our time as set forth by Comte and Herbert Spencer.

After tracing the gradual progress of science from its infancy in the study of mere number and form to its highest development in the study of man, Mr. HALL proceeded to enlarge upon the doctrines of the origin of religion as expounded by the "new science" of Comte and the views of Herbert Spencer contained in his "Study of Sociology." Spencer maintained that religion commenced in the worship of ghosts, or the spirits of the departed; that as time went on the number of spirits to be worshipped diminished until finally the idea of one god was evolved.

Comte, on the other hand, believed that the origin of religion lay rather in a form of nature worship; he believed that in the development of all religions there was a necessary stage in which all external

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objects, natural or artificial, were supposed to be animated by souls analogous to man's own. Early man speculated about the universe and his direct relation to it, for to his idea all the operations of nature contributed to life; he made gods of the objects and elements of nature —the sun, moon, rain, thunder, etc., and gradually this kind of polytheism resulted in monotheism.

Mr. HALL then proceeded to explain why he considered Mr. Aston's paper bore so important a relation to the theories as advanced by Spencer and Comte, inasmuch as it showed on what parallel lines both Eastern and Western religious development had advanced, especially in confirmation of Comte's theory that the ascription of life to inanimate objects (fetichism) was the initial stage of religion, these same ideas being likewise set forth in the works of Homer and Herodotus.

In his learned paper Mr. Aston had sunk a shaft into an entirely new vein of the search for religious development, and it was only once in a generation one could hope to find a scholar such as he to deal with such subjects.

Mr. HARDING SMITH (*Member of Council, J.S.*) said he was afraid he had very little to say on this subject, which had always been a source of mystery to him, but from what he had learnt that evening Shinto seemed to him to have been, in the first instance, a form of pure nature worship, developing afterwards into the imitation and impersonation of the objects of nature. It was a very singular thing, however, that it should afterwards have developed into a pioneer of Buddhism, thus reminding one of our own Christian festivals, which were mere developments, in many cases, of old pagan rites, as Christmas from the Roman Saturnalia, and Easter, which was a survival in name of the Saxon goddess Eastre.

He wished, however, that Mr. Aston's paper could have explained a little more clearly the inner meaning of Shintoism, as he was not yet quite satisfied as to what the religion really was. He believed there was an annual festival held by the Emperor, and he would be glad if any one present could tell him what that festival was. Did it mean a kind of atonement on the part of the Emperor to save his people? If so, it would be an interesting point.

The CHAIRMAN said if there were no one else present who had any remarks to make, he would like to say a few words in connection with the paper.

He thought the Meeting should be greatly indebted to Mr. Aston for having cleared up certain misconceptions there had been regarding the origin of Shinto, namely, as to its having been merely ancestor worship, though no doubt, in later times, ancestor worship had crept in and formed part of the Shinto cult. To his mind the reverence paid to

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the Sun-goddess, the chief deity, if one might call her so, was simply a survival of the ancient sun worship, and, in fact, not far from her shrine in Isé he had seen the worship of the sun.

On a small portion of the shore in the province of Isé there was a shrine erected on the beach, and beyond that shrine, in the sea, were two perpendicular rocks, connected by a rope, the shrine being placed in such a position as to enable the worshipper, in making his offerings, to look between the two stone pillars in the sea to where the sun rose over the shore on the opposite side of the bay.

He should like Mr. Aston to have said something about the temples of the Shinto followers, the chief of which were in Isé and Idzumo; they were extremely simple, and very different from the ornate temples of the Buddhists. Indeed, they were made of perfectly plain wood, and of the shape of a primeval hut. The wood was unpainted, and every twenty years the most important shrines were taken down and rebuilt in exactly the same form as that taken down.

He had spent some time at Idzumo, where better opportunities were afforded of seeing what the Shinto temple was really like than at Isé, more freedom being allowed.

Professor GOWLAND then described the process of preparing the sacrificial rice in front of the shrine, the fire for boiling it being obtained by means of the fire-drill, which consisted of an awl of soft wood, this being pressed against the edge of a wooden plank until fire was produced.

As to the offerings made by the Japanese in these temples, in olden times these consisted of cloth, silk, and woven fabrics, then agricultural products; but now they were represented by angular strips of paper.

He then proceded to relate how, when travelling in Korea, he had come across many parallels to Shinto in the religious rites of the inhabitants; how, too, the Korean coolies would sacrifice live animals to propitiate the gods of certain districts, as had once been his experience in crossing a mountain pass. A pig had been presented to him on his journey, and this was now slaughtered, the blood drunk, and the carcase taken up to a shrine, and finally, after ceremonials and prayers, eaten on the other side of the pass.

When travelling in Japan, he had remarked how, in high mountainous districts, the people would invariably place part of their wine on a shelf as an offering; then afterwards take it down and drink it themselves.

Professor GOWLAND concluded by saying that they were all very much indebted to Mr. Hall for his eloquent speech on the origin of religions. He also wished to propose a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Aston for his valuable paper. This was carried by acclamation.

The Meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

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THE NINETY-THIRD ORDINARY MEETING,

(THIRD OF THE SIXTEENTH SESSION,)

JANUARY 9TH, 1907.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, London.*]

Mr. MARCUS B. HUISH, LL.B. (*Hon. Librarian and Curator, J.S.*), took the Chair at 8.30 P.M., when a Paper entitled "THE LITERATURE OF PRIMITIVE JAPAN" was read by Mr. F. VICTOR DICKINS, C.B., M.J.S.

The CHAIRMAN opened the meeting by saying that it had been his duty, he might perhaps say his privilege, to read through twice, and sometimes more than that, every paper that had been delivered before the Society during the last twelve years, and he thought, therefore, he might lay claim to know somewhat about them. He could therefore state with confidence, and he believed his statement would be endorsed by the members, that the two which had been previously given by Mr. Dickens could hardly be equalled in their erudition, interest, and their thoroughness in dealing with the matter in question. So, too, he was sure that every one would look forward with interest to what Mr. Dickins had to say that evening. His paper was to be illustrated by lantern slides, and for this reason might perhaps occupy a longer time than usual.

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THE LITERATURE OF PRIMITIVE JAPAN.

By F. VICTOR DICKINS, C.B., M.J.S.

THE earliest remains we possess of pure Japanese literature carry us back to the 8th century, and that oldest home-province of Yamato which gave its name to the ancient island-realm. What follows may be well illustrated by projections of woodcuts taken from the "Yamato Meisho"—Pictorial account of Yamato and its famous places—which represent scenes, traditions, and manners constantly referred to in the principal monument of early Japanese literature, the "Manyôshiu," or Lays or Anthology of Old Japan. The "Yamato Meisho" (1791) is one of the best of the many excellent works of that kind left us by Old Japan. The illustrations are from the brush of Shunchôsai, and are full of expression, feeling for the picturesque, and compositional power. The unique character of the Japanese landscape is perfectly given by them; to one who knew Old Japan, landscape, figures, attitudes bring back in a moment, with the utmost vividness, his actual experiences. In essentials, we may accept the pictures as being almost equally representative of the Japan of the 8th as of the 18th century.

Every art and every literature must be ultimately judged upon criteria furnished by the canons which the peoples of the West have inherited from ancient Greece. But in the application of these criteria all the circumstances must be taken into consideration, and when that is fairly effected, the art and literature of the Far East, within their own horizons and limits, will be seen to be well worthy of the attention and commendation of the unprejudiced and instructed Western student of the modes, pictorial and literary, in which Far Eastern civilization has sought to express itself. On the present occasion, we are

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concerned only with the literature of a late phase of that civilization as presented to us in the work of the two or three centuries preceding the 9th century of the Christian era accomplished in Japan.

First and foremost must be considered the principal characteristics of the means of expression, which differ widely from those of Western languages. In Japanese, old and new, as in Chinese, there are no concords of any kind, no personality, and practically no inflection. Hence the definiteness of Western speech is impossible. It is impossible, linguistically, to translate a single sentence of any Western language into any Far Eastern tongue. "Ille illuc it" cannot be rendered in Japanese. *Ano hito ha achira ni yuku* is not a translation, nor can the Japanese phrase itself be rendered. The singularity of "ille" and "it," and the concords involved, cannot be given in Japanese, nor can the generality of *anohito* and *yuku* be rendered in Latin. This combination of vagueness and impersonality must always be kept in mind in reading and in judging any Japanese literary composition. If it cramps and limits expression, it develops suggestiveness, which is the very soul of Japanese verse, lending a peculiar charm to the poetry of Old Japan, which, however, can only be appreciated after considerable study and wide reading. It must always be, in some degree, caviar to the general, and of it only an adumbration can be conveyed in any translation or even imitation of a Japanese text.

But Japanese has the defect of its quality, and a most serious one. It has scarcely any power of imagery, it lacks humanity, it is unfit for rhetoric or eloquence, while it is wanting in accuracy and definition. Thus it is insufficient for the purposes of the dramatist, the orator, and the philosopher, and on the wings of Japanese verse no poet can soar high. In Japanese literature, accordingly, we find little that is sublime, nothing profound, but very much that is pretty, picturesque, ingenious, and daintily attractive in matter and form, despite a conventionalism that is yet naïve and artless, even when strained, and perhaps—in later times—pedantic.

In the 8th century of our era three works appeared, which form a sort of trilogy. Two of these were historical, the "Ancient Annals" (Kojiki), translated by Mr. Chamberlain, and the "Chronicles" (Nihongi), translated by Dr. Aston and

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published by this society. Another translation, in German, of a portion of the Nihongi is the work of Professor Karl Florenz. These compositions, however, are not in themselves literature. They contain, nevertheless, much matter of a literary quality; *uta*, or lays, and various stories of gods and heroes, sometimes very well told, as the story of the White Hare of Inaba in the "Kojiki," and the legend of the eastward march of Jimmu, resulting in the foundation of the Yamato state, the story of Hono Susori and Hohodemi, and the narrative of the Mino rebellion in the "Nihongi."

The third book of the trilogy was the "Manyôshiu—An Anthology of All the Ages—of the long lays in which, with many of the shorter ones, my recently published "Primitive and Mediæval Japanese Texts"[1] contains annotated translations in unrhymed metre closely imitative of the original. These three books, together with the "Taketori" (Wicker-worker's story),[2] and perhaps the "Yamato Tales," composed probably during the next, the 9th century, some fifty years or more after the completion of the "Manyôshiu," comprise the whole of the really primitive literature of Japan—indeed, of the whole Ural-Altaic race, now extant, though portions of the Yengishiki (Book of Rites), and of the Norito or Shinto prayers may possibly be older. There was, however, an older literature, even written, of which fragments are preserved in the "Annals" and "Chronicles." In both these works there are a number of lays of varying length, mostly short, of no great merit, for the more part evidently interpolated as illustrative or corroborative of the text. In the Kojiki there are 111 of these *uta*, in the Nihongi there are 132, and these latter are usually superior to the former lays. They are all, essentially, mere snatches of old song, and embellish rather than help the narrative. In the "Chronicles" we constantly meet with the phrase *kiuhon ihaku, aru hon ihaku*, "in an old writing it is said, in a certain writing it is said," followed by extracts from these then existing documents. The story of the mode of composition of the Kojiki may be read in Mr. Chamberlain's translation, where it is not criticized. Those who like may believe it—they will be of the class for whom

[1] Published by the Oxford University Press, 1906. In it the meaning of the title is discussed at length.

[2] Translated in the above-mentioned publication, *ubi vide*.

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such explanations are written; but if the story be confined to the *uta*, it becomes credible, even probable. In the short prefaces, *dai* or "arguments," again, prefixed to the "Manyôshiu" lays, we constantly find such and such a *shiu* or *atsume* (collection or anthology) referred to, such as those of Hitomaro, Mushimaro, Kanamura, Sakimaro, Tanobe, etc. On the whole, it is clear that a considerable body of literature must have been extant in the 7th century, and parts of the *Norito*, which are by no means wanting in dignity, may go back to an earlier period. Lastly, some of the "Manyôshiu" lays are dated as of the 4th century, but probably all those contained in the Anthology had undergone more than one recension ere attaining their present form.

The first question of interest with regard to the pure literature—represented by the "Manyôshiu" and the "Taketori"—is the extent to which it is of Japanese creation, that is, free from Chinese suggestion and influence. It may at once be admitted that the more one investigates the literature of primitive Japan, the more clearly one perceives how large is the Chinese element contained in it. The early history of Japan shows how this must have been the case; the more surprising fact is the non-existence of any Japano-Chinese literature earlier than the 8th century (or even later), though from the 5th and 6th centuries Chinese letters must have been fairly familiar to the Yamato court. In the 8th century, as the Chinese poetry and correspondence contained in the "Manyôshiu" show, the court writers were able to compose in perfectly correct Chinese. This point need not be here laboured; suffice it to say that, in my opinion, the early Japanese, while borrowing much of their material, but by no means all, from Chinese (and Indian ?) sources, recast it with a native grace that made it all their own—just as the speeches in *Julius Cæsar* are Shakespeare's, though drawn from North's "Plutarch." Hence in the poems of the Anthology we are struck with the singular modernity of tone, in its nearness to nature, in the artlessness even of its artifice, compared with the later literature which was dominated by the stiff conventionalisms of an unplastic people with an unplastic language, living under a rigid polity founded upon a cramped and immovable philosophy of an almost exclusively utilitarian nature. Old Japanese is not unplastic; its agglutinativeness in some

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measure replaces concord and inflection, its verb is especially vital and dynamic, while its peculiar power of connecting clause with clause, phrase with phrase, and sentence with sentence until a composition becomes an articulated whole, gives it a variety and movement, below indeed that of Aryan speech, but much above any quality of life to be found in the literature of China.

Nor is the form of primitive Japanese verse altogether strange. The alternate pentasyllabics and heptasyllabics with the concluding heptasyllabic couplet can be approximately paralleled in European compositions, especially in Old French. The concatenation of parts in successive climaxes up to a conclusion, or *resumé*, facilitated by the syntax of the language, which makes the verb the most important yet the last member of the sentence — though inversions are common, they do not interfere with the general effect, and indeed lend emphasis and variety to the piece —is peculiar, in Far Eastern literature, to the verse of primitive Japan. It is, however, not seldom paralleled in the Greek epigram of a century or earlier date than that of the Lays, as in the following :—

Ἡρώων κάρυκ' ἀρετᾶς μακάρων δὲ προφήταν,
Ἑλλάνων βιοτῇ δεύτερον ἀέλιον
Μουσῶν φέγγος Ὅμηρου, ἀγήραντον, στόμα κόσμου
Παντός, ἁλιῤῥοθία, ξεῖνε, κέκευθε κόνις.

In addition to the above characteristic, and to the parallelisms and repetitions common to all early verse, the special decoration of the Japanese *uta* is to be sought in its word-dexterities and its makura-kotoba, or pillow-words. Of these in their order, but briefly. Both will be regarded by some critics as trivialities. They would be rightly regarded as such, probably, in modern Western verse. But Homeric epithets are not trivialities—what would Homer be without them?—*κορυθάιολος Ἕκτωρ* and *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Αγαμέμνων*—nor are the word-juggleries of early Japan, which consist essentially in packing several more or less poetical meanings (epithets) into a single expression really more trivial than the mere sound-dexterities of rhyme; if the less musical, they are the more intellectual of the two devices.

Thus in the 13th book of the Anthology we have a long lay in which occurs the expression *agakokoro Kiyosumi no ike.* The

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meaning of the whole passage is ". . . deep as the bottom of the Pool of Kiyosumi, the Pool of Pure Waters, pure as my own heart is my love, too faithful (pure) to let me forget . . ." Here Kiyosumi is the name of the pool, but *kiyosumi* also means "pure, clear, unflecked," and with *agakokoro* "pure as my own heart." In the above passage *agakokoro* is a pillow-word, so that a double decoration is contained within a single expression. Even to a Western reader—I speak from experience—such dexterities become pleasing when fully understood and sufficiently familiar to be *expected*, as no doubt a rhyme will be to a Japanese ear when accustomed to that particular form of literary ornament.

Sometimes a sort of preface or introduction, which may occupy several lines, may lead up to a word (or even a part only of a word) which has two senses, one applicable to what precedes it, and the other to what follows it. So in Lay 247 such a preface leads up to the word *futa*, meaning the lid of a lady's toilet-case, which is prettily described; but used as *futa*, twain, part of the name of a mountain, Futakami, twain-peaked or twain-godded mountain, one on either peak of which a god has his seat. I cite the whole lay,[1] by Yakamochi, dated May 19th, 750 A.D. It is called "Cuckoo and Fuji-blooms."

"In little hand held
all in the morning's radiance
  by some fair damsel
with cheek of peachy hue,
  and willow-branch eyebrows
that arch with every smiling
  the casket is
her shining mirror holdeth
  the closed lid under.
And 'tis on Lidlord Mountain,
  the twain-peaked hill,
  or mid the shadows
of deep green valleys echoeth
  the note of cuckoo,
or nigh the dim moorside
  the moonbeams under
he darteth hither, thither,
  amid the clust'ring
festoons of fuji-flowers,
  with quick wings scattering

[1] "Prim. Texts," etc.

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abroad the purple blossoms,
  whereof I gather
a bloomy spray and set it
  in my sleeve set it,
and if it staineth let it
my shining sleeve with purple."

The first eleven lines of the text lead through the hue of the peach-flower and the grace of the willow-branch (Chinese ideas) to the beauty of the damsel who, at her morning toilet, holds her mirror, of whose case the lid (*futa*) is implied in the name of the Futakami hill.

In these word-devices, a decoration, not a pun, is nearly always intended, but the embellishment (or joke ?) can, at the best, be only dimly imitated in a translation. The makura-kotoba, lit. pillow-words, resemble but are not identical with the Homeric standing or literary epithets, such as "many-sounding" (sea), "earth-shaking" (Poseidon), "white-armed" (Juno), "allwhere-wandering" (wind), etc. In the Japanese "middle ages," when the name makura-kotoba was given,[1] the meaning of many of them was unknown (as is still the case), of others it was uncertain, and of others, again, though the sense was clear, the application was obscure. Hence they came to be regarded as "rests" (pillows), a sort of *mots de cheville*, of no value in themselves, but employed as introductory expressions or to help out the metre. Thus, of *soramitsu*, which I will take as best rendered by "sky-shining," the meaning is quite obscure. Some commentators take it to signify the place where the gods' "rock-boat" touched earth in its descent from heaven with a company of deities. In the "Yamato Meisho" is a woodcut of a stone foundation of unknown origin and purpose, called the Rock-boat of Mashida. Again, of the makura-kotoba *ashihikino* applied to hills, the sense is often taken as foot (*ashi*) dragging (*hiki*), *i.e.* toilsome ; but the real value seems to be, where *hi no ki* (*Chamæcyparis obtusa*, a kind of larch) trees are abundant (*ikashi*, [*ik*]*ashihikino*). This *hi* was much used in construction, and the epithet was therefore a laudatory one. One may compare the Homeric δενδρήεις. Of the third kind, a good example is *amagomori* (rain-bound), applied to *mi kasa*, a fine (royal) hat ; not that a hat can be said to be rain-bound, but that where one

[1] See "Prim. Texts."

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is rainbound the protection of a hat is desirable. So *fuyugomori* (winter-bound) is applied to *haru* (spring), as limited, imprisoned by winter.[1]

Makura-kotoba may also be used with a part of a word, even with a single syllable—a common and, to the translator, distracting use. Thus *amadzutafu*, sky-traversing (comp. οὐρανομήκης), is applied to Higasa no yama (a hill-name) as epithet of *hi* only—*hi* meaning the sun that traverses the sky. Again, a makura-kotoba may be merely phonetic in application —a sort of rhyming use—as when *arikinuno*, woven garment, is applied to the verb *ari*, to be. But most of the makura-kotoba are true epithets; such are, *komorikuno*, hill-encompassed, applied to Hassé (a tract in Yamato); *akikazeno*, autumn-windy, to *buki*=*fuki* (blow) of Yamabuki no se (course of the Yamabuki river, *Yamabuki* also is the name of the *Kerria japonica*); *akinohano*, autumn-leafy, to *nihohi ni tereru* (shine brightly); *akahoshi*, morning-starry, to *akuru ashita* (the morrow's dawn); *amakumono*, sky-cloud-like, to *tayutafu* (drift to and fro); *chihayaburu*, thousand-rocks-smash, or thousand-hilts-brandish, to *kami* (superior being, deity); *furuyukino*, falling-snow-like, to *ke*, *kihe* (pass away); *fuyukomori*, winter-prisoned, to *haru* (spring); *hisakatano*, sunshiny, to *ama* (sky); *ihohenami*, five hundred, *i.e.* innumerous waves, to *tachi-wi* (rise or rest, stand or sit, *i.e.* constantly—the very expression is met with in old English prose); *iyushishino*, like-wounded hart, to *kokoro wo itami* (heart-stricken); *kusamakura*, grass-pillow, to *tabi* (journey); *matamanasu*, true-jewel-like, to *aga 'mofu imo* (my mistress beloved); *minahanasu*, like foam on water to *moroki inochi* (brittle, *i.e.* impermanent human life), morning-misty (dim, obscure), spring-blossom-like (fine, flourishing), spring-breeze-like (sound or murmur), and many others of similar content.

A large proportion are of quite Homeric form, compound expressions that could be perfectly rendered in Greek; many, by simile, metaphor, or otherwise figuratively, involve allusions of a specially Japanese character often not easy to appreciate—*amoritsuku*, from-heaven-alight, applied to Kaguyama (a hill-name) where the gods descended from heaven according to the Shintô myth; *asamoyoshi*, a hempen smock, to *ki* (put-on, don);

[1] Another explanation, however, of this makura-kotoba is possible.

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hashimukafu, *vis-à-vis* like chopsticks,[1] to *oto* (younger of a pair of brothers); *himonomono*, like vestment-cord, knots tied in which symbolized fidelity of lovers, to *kokoro* (heart-of-lover); *kagaminasu*, mirror-like, *i.e.* bright, polished, unflecked, faithful, etc., to *tsuma* (spouse); *komatsurugi*, a koma or straight Korean sword which had a ring at end of hilt, to *wa* (ring) in Wazami no hara-Moor of Wazami; *momotarasu*, not a hundred, to *yaso* (eighty), *i* in *ikada* (raft), *i* being "fifty;" *shikitaheno*, outspread fine *tahe* stuff of mulberry-bark fibre, to dress, pillow, sleeve, etc.; *shiranuhino*, of unknown fires, to Tsukushi (west part of Kiushiu, where strange flames were seen by a Mikado); *tamakushige*, precious comb-box, with *ake* (open)—the allusion is to the ballad of Urashima?; *umiwonasu*, like spooled hemp, to *naga* (long, *i.e.* as the thread so spooled); *umasahafu-umashi-saha-fu*—abundance or field of delicious millet, to *me* (contraction of *mure*, crowd, multitude); *wimachitsuki*, be-at-rest-wait-moon, moon of 18th of (lunar) month, when the moon (of harvest-time?) rose after bed-time.

Not a few makura-kotoba curiously complete a sentence with the word to which they are applied; thus *wotomerani*, with the maid, is a complementary makura-kotoba of *ahe*, to meet; *wotomeraka*, is it a maid? with *sodefuru*, who waves her sleeve (in farewell), the name of a hill, Sodefuru yama; *wagasekowo*, O my spouse! to the hill-name Nakose yama (*na kose*, cross it not, *i.e.* O my lover, cross not the hill, remain with me, is implied in the hill-name and its makura-kotoba taken together). Mere joking makura-kotoba are not common; such are *chichinomino*, like fruit of the maidenhair tree, used with *chichi*, father, a phonetic pun; *furukoromo*, old (soiled) garment, after cleansing it was beaten (*mata uchi*), hence, by implied word-play, the makura-kotoba is used with the hill-name Matsuchi (*mata uchi*) yama; Isonokami, a tract in Yamato, where existed a village called Furu, hence the makura-kotoba is used with *furu* (old, or pour, shower, as rain, snow, etc.).

These epithets and word-dexterities, together with the peculiar, occasionally humorous script-forms employed—the word *de* (go forth) is rendered by a character analysable into two characters, each meaning "mountain," superimposed, hence, instead of the character *de*, a script paraphrase, "mountain heaped twofold

[1] Or mutually affectionate.

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upon mountain," is written, a good instance of what was found amusing by old-world Chinese and Japanese writers and readers —constitute a unique and very characteristic decoration or embroidery upon the substance of old Japanese verse that must not be rejected with scorn, but understood and sympathized with if we are to render any sort of justice to these primitive utterances of the far-away Japanese muse.

In my book—which I am ashamed to mention so often, but there is no other work on the subject—all these matters are dealt with at some length, but still inadequately. As to makura-kotoba, in particular, it is most difficult to give any adequate idea of their force and value; one can only seize their charm after repeated familiarity with their use and application.

The Anthology may now be dealt with, the principal literary work extant of primitive Japan. It consists of a selection of *uta*, long (*nagauta* or *chôka*) or short (*mizhikaki uta* or *tanka* or *hanka*—envoys), dating from the 4th to the 8th century, the last *tanka* having been recited by its author, Yakamochi—the principal compiler of the "Manyôshiu"—in A.D. 759. To Yakamochi, indeed, we owe nearly all the poems contained in the last four of the twenty volumes of the Anthology, and many others besides. Nearly all the lays, of which the authors are named in the *dai* (arguments), are the work of courtiers or officials, and of the remainder a like origin may be assumed. Some are assigned to reigning Mikados, but of these a portion at least may be taken to have been composed at his command or specially eulogized by him. I shall illustrate what follows by projections on the screen of xylographs from the "Yamato Meisho" already mentioned,[1] but not to relieve the tedium of this paper. For the poetry of Japan, though earlier in date, is essentially related to its art. The very term *meisho*, famous places, means places famous in poetry, and nearly every xylograph has an illustrative poem or two calligraphed within its cadre. In Japanese poetry, as in Japanese art, we find the same expression of the Japanese spirit distinct from the spirit of Chinese art, verbal or pictorial, though allied rather with than to it. A similar sobriety of means is employed to render a world of meaning. The suggestiveness, of Japanese art in

[1] A selection are reproduced by the kindness of the Society at the close of this essay.

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particular, is almost boundless; the difficulty is not so much to discover as to limit the meaning of the artist. This constitutes at once its charm and its obscurity; one feels rather than comprehends a picture or a poem of Old Japan. Not a word, not a line, is lost. Neither art is exactly great—it moves to no deep emotion, wonder, terror, pity, awe, nor to the fulness of the Greek sense of beauty. The art of Japan is intimate; it excites a peculiar intensity of admiration of its ingeniosity, variety, sobriety, honesty, a sort of ecstasy of enjoyment in reader or beholder, who by temperament or study is capable of appreciating almost the delicatest art and verse known—the art and verse of the Greeks of the Far East. This is no exaggeration. The Old Japanese were truly the Greeks of the Far East, within the limits set by their language, history, and environment. I knew, personally, the sunset of Old Japan, which retained much of the beauty of its morning time. The surroundings of its art and poetry were themselves artistic and picturesque, land and people. As witnesses may be cited Kaempfer's "Historia"—now accessible to every one in the recent complete edition published by Messrs. MacLehose, of Glasgow, the works of Thunberg and Von Siebold, Alcock's "Capital of the Tycoon," Sherard Osborn's "Cruise in Japanese Waters"—in a word, every book written on the basis of a personal knowledge of Old Japan.

The Japanese borrowed their love of natural beauty from the Chinese. Even at the date of the "Manyôshiu" poems the plum and cherry blossoms of spring and the falling leaf of autumn were the theme of verse. But in the *uta* of the Annals and Chronicles, more personal and dramatic, the sounds and sights of nature receive much less, indeed very little, attention. This admiration of nature, too, became conventionalized—but without losing its honesty—and so circumscribed within narrow limits. In the "Manyôshiu" it has a more extended range than it seems to have preserved in later verse. In Plate I. the verse in the corner tells us that the woodcut represents the Mikado (the Kiyomihara Tennô, Temmu, 7th century) viewing the plum-blossoms on the moor of Mikaki, while an attendant shades him from the sun. The air is filled with the falling petals. So Kamo no Kimitari begins his lament upon the ruined chapel of the hero Takechi with an allusion to the hill of Heavenly Kagu (Plate II.)—

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THE MIKADO TEMMU VIEWING THE PLUM-BLOSSOMS ON THE MOOR OF MIKAKI.

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"where long ago
the great high gods descended,
where breezes murmur
among the clust'ring pine woods,
the waters ruffling
of the pool beneath the hill
where cherry blossoms
still whelm the groves in beauty."

The verse in the corner expresses a loyal hope that the sovereign's reign (or that of his house) may last as long as the sun shall shine on Amanokaguyama. It must here be said, parenthetically, that the versions now offered attempt to give only the intellectual content of the texts; their artistic and æsthetic elements are susceptible only, if at all, of very inadequate conveyance.

A Mikado of the 7th century, Jomei, is moved to indite a lay in honour of the same famous hill—

"Land of Yamato!
among its hills unnumber'd
doth Amakagu
stand forth in perfect beauty.
. . . . .
O land to love,
fair land of rich ripe ears,
Yamato, fertile, fruitful!"

A Western poet would have written, "among *thy* hill sun-number'd," but this is not the Far Eastern mode. The phrase "fair land of rich ripe ears" is an attempt to render the epithet (*toyo*) *akitsushima*, sometimes translated "dragon-fly land," because *aki*[*tsu*], ear of grain, also signifies a dragon-fly (*tombo*, *seirei*). The word-play, if so intended, is no mere form, but a decoration—two poetic meanings packed in a single expression.

In a lay on "The Three Mountains," Amakagu is represented as—

"charmed by Unebi's beauty
with Miminashi
to win the fair hill strove."

Miminashi yama is portrayed on Plate III. It is, as the legend tells us, sometimes called Kuchinashi, because the bush so named (*Gardenia florida*, or Cape jasmine) is found there in abundance. The Mikado sees in Amanokagu's passion for the

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neighbouring hill an excuse for mere man's persistent homage to the fair sex. In this lay distinct personification is implied. Other traces of this form of imagery are found in the Anthology, but the inundation of Chinese letters and civilization which began with the reforms of A.D. 645 ere long arrested the natural development of the poetic spirit in Old Japan, and diverted it into arid tracts of verbal dexterity and literary conceit that finally reduced—*ad absurdum* almost—the long-lay to the three short lines (seventeen syllables in all) of the *hokku*, or epigram of Basho,[1] extremely ingenious and not destitute of charm, but rather that of the verbal artist than of the poet.

No hill in Japan is more often the theme of verse that Mount Yoshino, the fair moorland hill, and Hitomaro, "the prince of poets," as Tsurayuki calls him, sings of the delight of his Sovereign Lady, the Queen-Regnant Jitô (close of 7th century), who dwelling

"in high-roofed palace
midst Yoshino's swirling waters—
  the great hills climbing
o'er all the land she gazeth,
  for her the gods
of the green empilèd hills
  provide due offerings—
coronals of cherry blossoms
  in happy spring-time,
of ruddy leafery garlands
  in time of autumn."

In Plate IV. the character of "streamy roaring Yoshino" is emphasized—

"where the hills are lofty
and white with flower-cascades,
  and the streamy land
with roar of waters echoeth,
  a scene of joy unending!"

The great falls of Seimei (pure and bright) occupy the foreground;

"the wooded hills are everywhere."

Of the building of the palace of Fujihara[2] we have a lively picture—

[1] See Mr. Chamberlain's masterly study of this poet in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.*

[2] By the Queen-Regnant (690–6).

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THE HILL OF MIMINASHI: A BEVY OF GIRLS ADMIRING THE SPRING BLOSSOMS.

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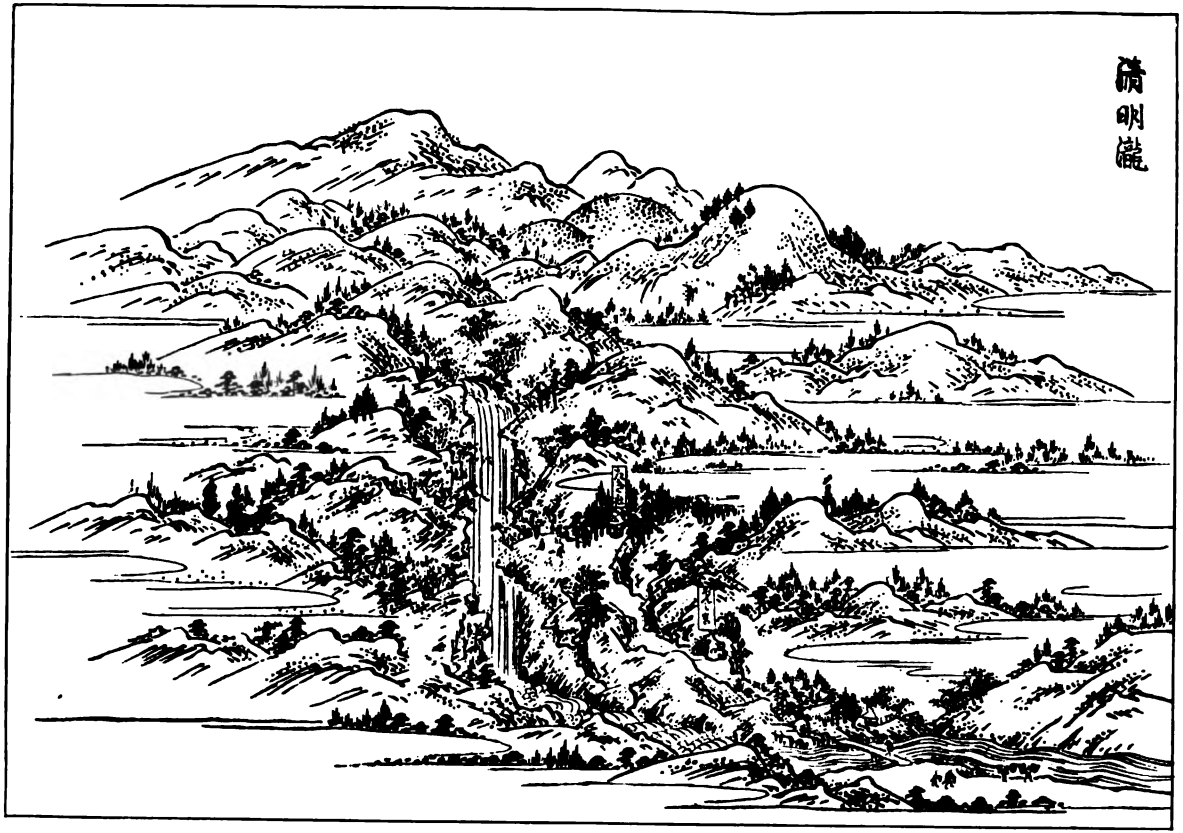

THE FALLS OF SEIMEI (YOSHINO), TO ILLUSTRATE THE SCENERY OF THE MANYÔSHIU.

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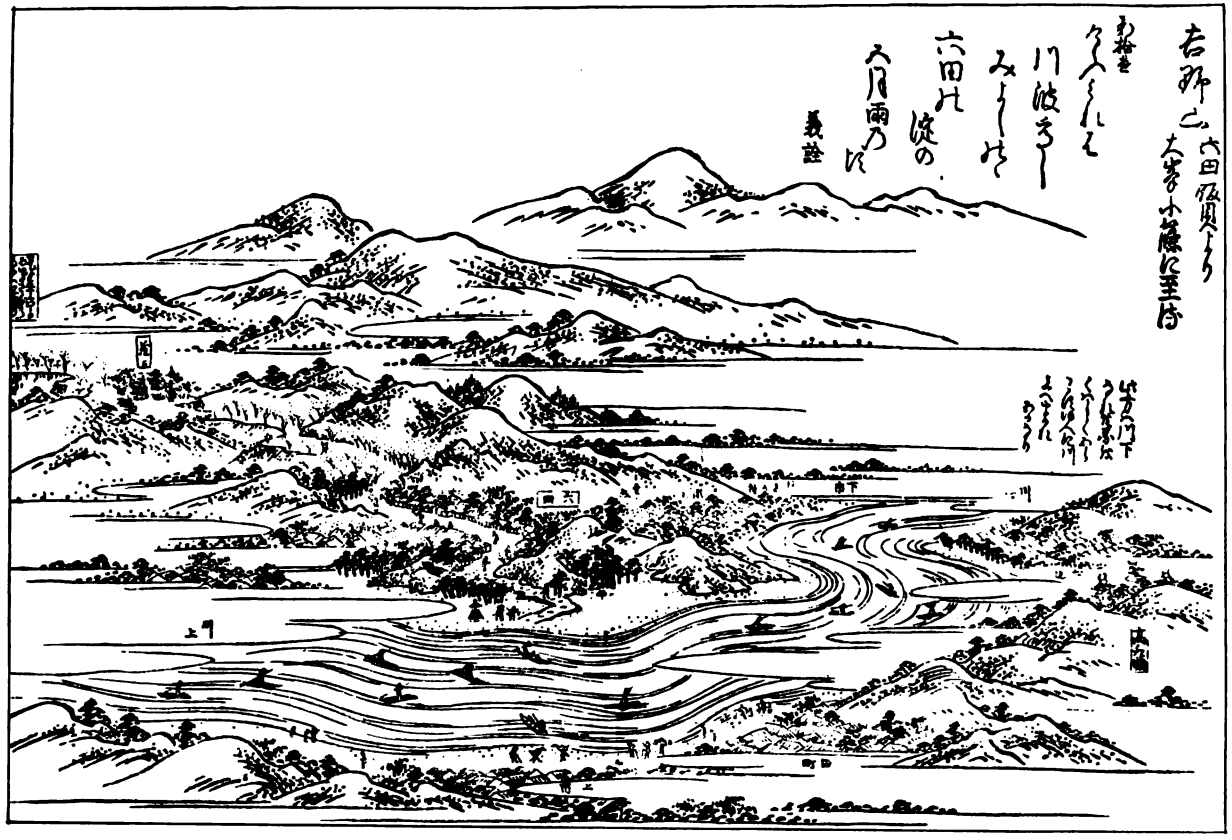

THE HILLS AND RIVERS OF "STREAMY" YOSHINO, SHOWING THE RAFTS MENTIONED IN THE MANYÔSHIU.

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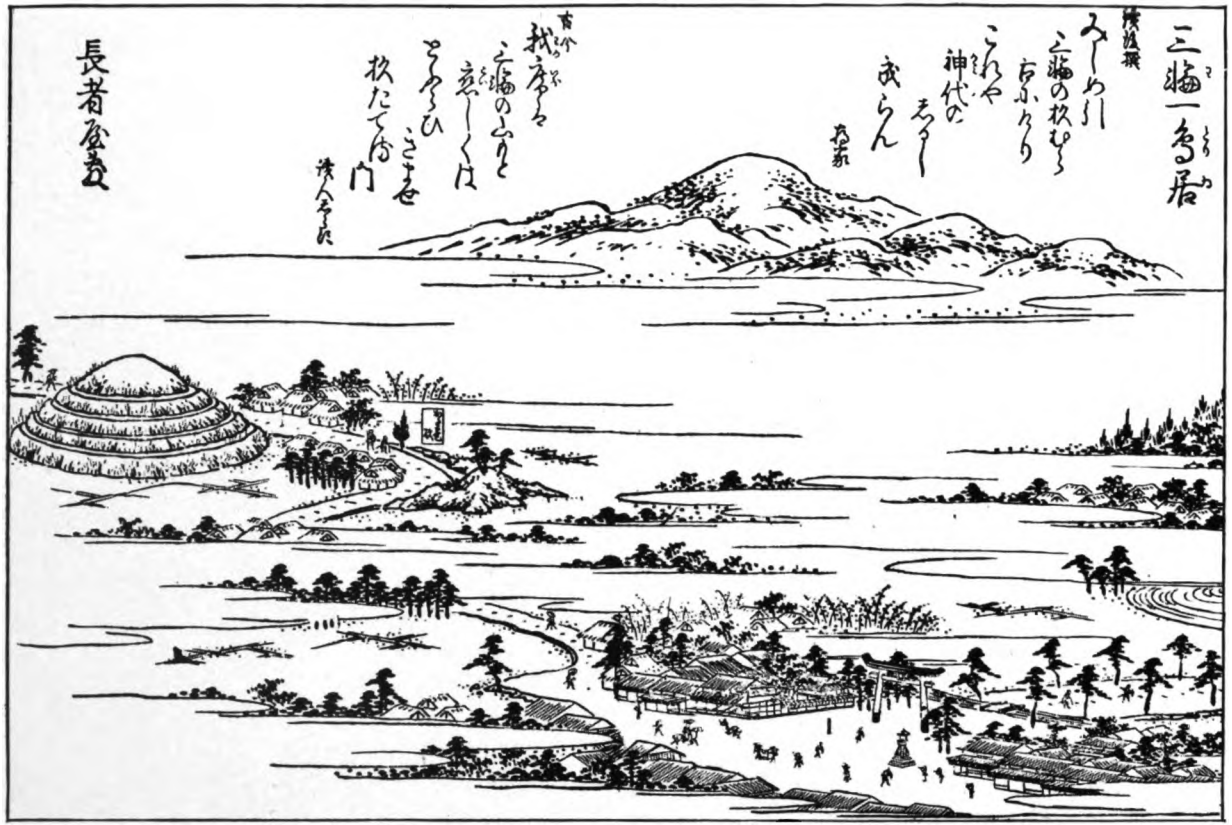

THE PORTAL BY THE HILL OF MIWA, CELEBRATED IN THE MANYÔSHIU AS A "BEAUTIFUL HILL."

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". . . vast balks of timber
on Tanakami,
in rocky roaring Afumi,
of right-wood timber
which builders deftly split
are hewn and borne
by eager folk to float them
down Uji's river,

. . . . .

and men our travail watching
shall own for a god we labour."

In Plate V. is pictured the rapid flow of the Yoshinu river loaded with timber-rafts.

The palaces of the older Mikados were often abandoned at their death. When Nara was deserted for Kuni (early 8th century), the poet (Tanohe ?) complains—

. . . . .

"for a thousand ages
still might fair Nara flourish
until that heaven
and earth should come together,
men hoped and trusted—

. . . . .

"but as with daybreak
the birds wing far their flight
are gone the court-folk,
their bravery all is ended,
the ways untrodden,
the ways they thronged are silent,
no sound of horse-hoof
now echoeth where stood Nara,
Nara, City-Royal!"

The feeling is akin to the home-sickness to which the Princess Nukata faring towards Afumi (Ômi) gives expression—

". . . mists too heartless
arise and hide
receding Miwa from me—
sweet hill of Miwa
nigh pleasant home that riseth!"

The makura-kotoba rendered "sweet" is *umasakeno*, like sweet *saké*, and the application involves a word-play in Miwa, which read *mi wa* means royal (*i.e.* fine) *saké*. Plate VI. shows the "shapely" hill of Miwa with a triple-ramparted tumulus in the foreground.

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The toils of travel are often lamented; the wail of the official despatched on duty to some distant post not seldom sounds unmanly. But travel in those days through gloomy woods, over desolate tracts, across exposed hills, and in row-boats over stormy seas, entailed great hardships always, sore perils often, as the following extracts show. Thus Ikusa no Ohokime expresses his dread of the mountain passes he must cross—

> "where roar the blasts . . .
> both morn and even
> chill winds upon me blowing
> in gusts unceasing,
> while I on couch all lonely
> on grassy pillow
> must wayfarer's rest still find me. . . ."

The Pass of Nara is so often mentioned that it must be shown. Plate VII. pictures it with an early 18th-century travel episode.

A gentleman, followed by his servant, admires the view as he climbs the pass. Kago bearers and other wayfarers are enjoying a well-earned rest at a way-side saké booth. There is no mention of *kago* or *norimono* in the Anthology, but these and a few minor accessories removed, the scene might well pass for one of the 8th century. In Plate VIII., Yukiki no oka (Knoll of Yukiki, or Come-and-go Hill), the legend tells us that "here folk coming and going (from and to City-Royal) do meet under the shadowy trees of spring." The wayfarers are taking their lunch while admiring the leafery of a maple tree. One of the girls seems to be regarding the reflection of herself in the stream.

The character of old-world travel is shown in Plate IX., where the wayfarer might represent Prince Karu seeking the moor of Aki, there to practise a retreat in memory of his father—

> ". . . the wilds of Hatsusé
> by rugged hills engirdled
> the Prince hath sought,
> climb'd trackless hills, through forests,
> o'er rocks and bushes
> amid thick jungle faring."

Several of the lays are elegies upon the victims of these perilous wayfarings. Hitomaro deplores the fate of one, whose body the sea has thrown up:

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REST HOUSE BY THE NARA PASS, NEAR THE ANCIENT CAPITAL.

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THE HILL OF YUKIKI, SHOWING TWO COMPANIES OF TRAVELLERS GOING TOWARDS AND FROM THE CAPITAL, AND RESTING OR LUNCHING AT THE USUAL MEETING-PLACE.

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TO ILLUSTRATE THE DIFFICULTIES OF TRAVEL IN OLD JAPAN.

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"... who lieth here
upon the strand forlorn flung,
his home-place knew I,
I would the sad news tell there;
. . . . .
and anxious waiteth
for his home-coming, yearning,
his winsome wife she waiteth."

So Simonides, among the oldest of the epigrammatists, wrote a thousand years earlier—

Σῶμα μὲν ἀλλοδαπὴ κεύσει κόνις· ἐν δέ σε πόντῳ,
Κλείσθενες, Εὐξείνῳ μοῖρ' ἔκιχεν θανάτου
Πλαζόμενον, γλυκεροῦ δὲ μελίφρονος οἴκαδε νόστου
Ἤμπλακες, οὐδ' ἵκευ χῖον ἐπ' ἀμφιρύτην.

The moon and the cuckoo are constant subjects of Japanese art and verse. Hitomaro, on leaving his wife, writes—

"... long looks throwing towards
our home-place, dear,
. . . . .
the while upon Yakami
from rift infrequent
the hastening clouds allow
the moonbeam's shimmer,
sad moon sad thoughts recalling."

Plate X. may represent the picture here drawn in words. The cuckoo inspires a happier mood:

"Among the fledglings
of the nightingale
the cuckoo hath his birth;
alone is he,
nor like his father singeth,
nor like his mother:
he soareth high and flieth
. . . . .
and with his singing
the welkin all resoundeth
. . . . .
and bribe him would I
ne'er far away to fly,
but in my garden
among the orange blossoms
to sit and sing for ever!"

In Plate XI., one lying on her couch listens with rapture to

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the night-song of the Japanese cuckoo (*Cuculus poliocephalus*). The verse (on the woodcut, which perhaps represents the poetess Ononokomachi) may be rendered—

"As latens night
on Katarahi's hill
(the hill of song)
the cry of cuckoo hear I,
as in my solitude
from my night's sleep I wake me
(to listen to the cuckoo)."

Elegies and love-lays are numerous in the Anthology. Of the latter, among the most charming are the *tanabata* poems, of which there are several. One (by Omi Okura) runs thus—

"Since earth and heaven
long, long ago were parted.[1]
upon the shore
of Heaven's river standing,
the youthful Herdman
for the Webster-maiden yearning;
no peace he knew,
sighing, sobbing ever,
there stood he idly:
by the stream of shining Heaven
her scarf she waved him;
his fine arms far-outstretched he
embrace desiring,
each heart with love afire,
while autumn tarried still."

Plate XII. represents a rustic dance called the Magpie Dance, in allusion to the magpies who made a bridge across the Milky Way for the lover-stars to cross on their one night of meeting in the year—the 7th of the 7th moon. The story is entirely Chinese, but the treatment is quite Japanese.

Of Hitomaro's elegy on Prince Hinami, a few verses may be quoted.

. . . .
"Anon our Prince he
to rule the land descended,
to all folk bringing
a tune of flowery spring
. . . .
then—how so happ'd it?
. . . .

[1] Creation was the separation, the end of things will be the re-fusion of heaven and earth.

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CONTEMPLATION OF THE MOON: TRAVELLERS AND THEIR SERVANT.

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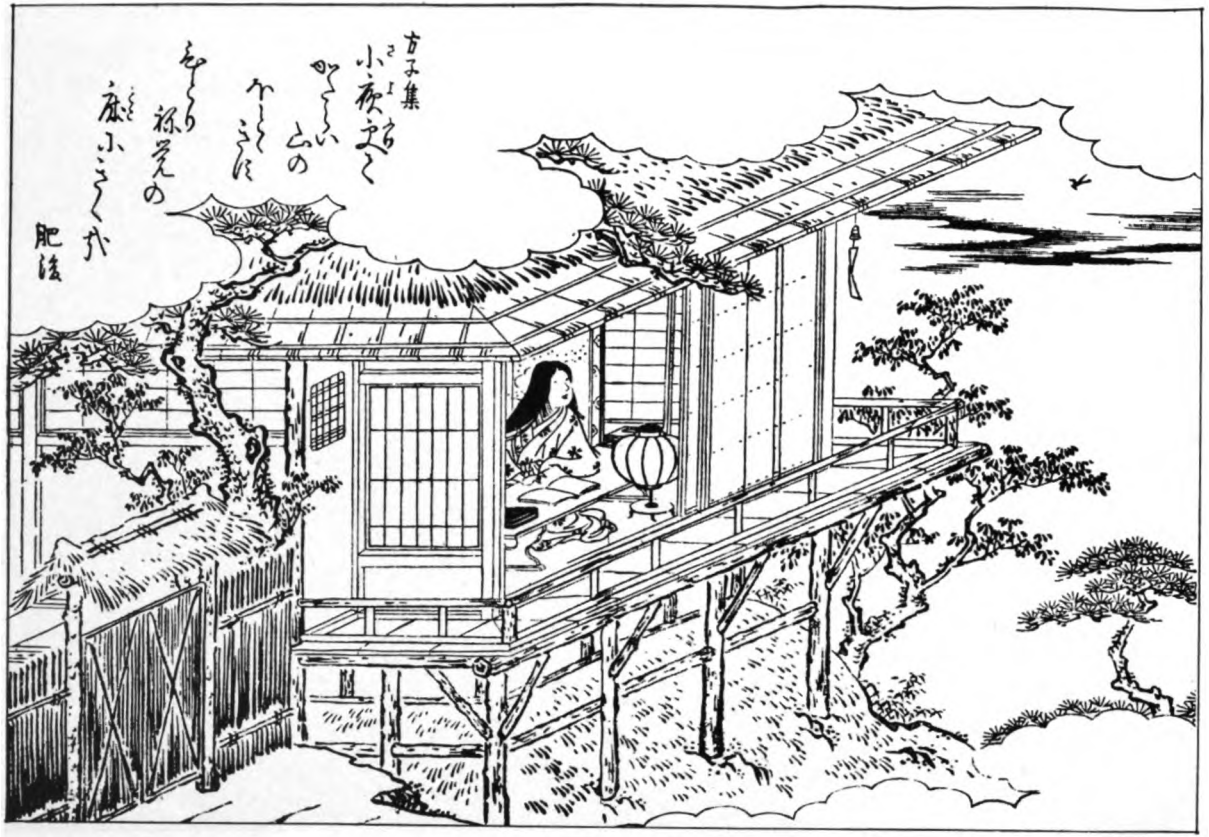

A POETESS (ONONOKOMACHI) LISTENING TO THE CUCKOO BY NIGHT.

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COUNTRY DANCE, KNOWN AS THE DANCE OF THE MAGPIES' BRIDGE OVER THE MILKY WAY, ON TANABATA NIGHT (7TH OF 7TH MOON).

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on lone Mayumi
alas! far from us lieth he,
where stately shrine
is on stout pillars reared,
there still he ruleth,
in majesty he ruleth."

. . . . .

The mortuary shrine would be a chambered dolmen with gallery, in due time to be covered by a tumulus (*misasagi*).

Two other elegies or complaints are—

"My jetty tresses
as black as pardanth berry
lie all dishevell'd,
sweet sleep I cannot win me
with thoughts of sorrow,
still to and fro I toss me
like seaborne ship—
my sleepless nights of sorrow
oh, I have lost their count!"

In another elegy the wife tells us—

"the solemn hill-ways
I climb, and where his shrine lieth,
morn after morn
the tomb's wide-builded portal
I leave to weep,
and there retreat each even
to mourn, to mourn my husband."

Hunting and hawking were favourite amusements of the court. A royal lady sings of her husband—

"My Lord and Sovran
. . . .
when daybreak showeth
in his trusty bow delighteth,
when dusk is falling
with heed aside he setteth
. . . .
for hunt at daybreak
ay maketh he him ready,
for hunt at even
still maketh he him ready
and ever yon bow-end
of the white-wood bow he loveth,
full loudly it resoundeth!"

Of distinctly martial songs only one is to be found in the

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Anthology, but it is the longest, having a hundred and fifty lines. It describes the prowess of Prince Takechi, in relation to, but not at, the battle of Seta, which ended the rebellion of Mino in the 7th century. A few lines only can be quoted—

"So stoutly girding
his great sword on his thigh,
  and stoutly grasping
his mighty bow in hand,
  the Prince, true Prince, he
the Eastland host amazed ;
  the welkin echoed
with order'd drums' loud thunder,
  the horns outblared
like fierce tigers roaring ;
  . . . . .
  while high the pennons
upborne o'er the moorland flutter
  as flames run flickering,
run flickering o'er the bushland
  when spring escapeth
from winter's prisoning clutch ;
  . . . . .
the clang of twanging bow-ends
  like din of storm-gale
'mid winter forest roaring
  men's ears
with the awful sound affrighting,
  . . . . .
  while thick the shafts flew
as snowflakes tempest driven
  from countless bow-strings :
  . . . . .
the crowd rebellious
  . . . . .
  along the border
of the battle fight full fiercely,
  when, lo ! there bloweth
from holy Watarahi
  a wind divine
the froward folk confounding."

Some of the poems are didactic, in a Buddhist or Confucianist sense. Thus Okura inculcates the Five Duties as follows :—

"Father and mother
thou shalt not fail to treat
  with honour ever,
to love and care for always
  thy wife and children,

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nor fail thou to remember
the younger's duty
to the elder brother,
nor how behoveth
youth to yield to age,
nor how to friend
in interchange of amity
should friend be faithful."

Occasionally verse of this character is introduced by an elaborate preface in pure Chinese. A Buddhist feeling prevails in Okura's short lay—

"Well we know
how empty are our days;
each day new sorrow,
and every day new sorrows
in endless sequence brings us!"

contained in a Chinese preface, embellished with a poem (*shi*) in Chinese, to an elegy on the death of the poet's wife.

Two curious lays are of a fabular character, and are intended to promote loyalty. In one a hart shows that when he dies every part of him, ears, eyes even, hoofs, skin, flesh, is made serviceable to the sovereign.

"And lo, my course run
when all of me is spent
in service loyal
. . . . .
shall mine due meed of praise be."

In similar wise the crab, after a humorous prologue, describes his ultimate fate, adding—

"And I am salted, pickled
up to my eyes,
and so my service rendering
my meed of praise I earn me."

The sixteenth book of the Anthology opens with a curious preface, illustrated by a story told in pure Chinese, to a lay in which youth is warned of old age.

"What a handsome fellow!
once pretty maidens whispered;
with scornful look,
to-day they point their finger
at me and ask,
Why, who is this
who passeth, ugly wretch he?"

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Another lay by Okura (the reflective poet of the Anthology) tells the misery of the poor man—

"No smoke from my hearth riseth,
their webs have spiders
about the cauldron spun
that hath forgotten
rice e'er was seeth'd therein ;
and last there cometh,
hoarse voiced as owlish bird,
my less to lessen
my cloth too short cut shorter,
and rod in hand
the village headman calling
for dues or service
in loud and angry tone :
such is my lot,
unholpen, helpless am I,
for such the world's ways be!"

Even in the Manyô age the quintain of thirty-one syllables had asserted its predominance. In the Anthology, out of 4496, poems only 263 are long lays (*chôka*), 4173 are short lays (*tanka*), and 61 are *sedôka*, sextains of thirty-eight syllables. A few of the *tanka* (not being envoys to *chôka*) are subjoined.

"Oh that I had restrained my passion, as a bow drawn but not let fly, such pains of love had not been mine!"

"*Ahaji's* isle above the waves in the cloudy distance see I: some unmet (*ahanu*) maid (unaffianced) shall surely be allotted me."

"When I think of thee and that thou art unattainable, like the clouds that drift aimless in the sky, my love wandereth bootless."

"Where the pine trees fringe the shores of teal-haunted Susa she pineth, waiting for me all alone" [word-play *pine* and *pine*].

"Crossing the manifold hills wrapped in morning mists, I hear the small birds calling. Wilt thou come, dear, to their calling? Alas, no shelter for thee is here!" [he is crossing the wild hills].

"Hardly may the wayfarer leave the sweet waters of billowy Uji (so sweet are they)—Uji that 'mindeth of the *iji* (valour) of the thousand-swift-brandishing (or thousand-hilts-swaying) gods."

"Alas, my wife how she sorroweth for me, who am now of no account, mere dust and dirt" [he is an exile].

"Longingly I pray the gods that thou mayest safely return

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who now farest over-sea towards Tsushima, where all ships call [*i.e.* on the way to Korea].

"Abandoned as an old garment, I am chill at heart as when the cold winds of autumn begin to blow."

"May my lord's days be as many as would be needed to cast dust into the sea and raise a mountain-island lofty as Wona's peak that shows above yonder ridge, all bright with spring blossoms."

"The wild geese fly over yonder hill [Horsefeed hill ἱππόβοτος] where the spring grass is sweet, but they rest not; alas! no message bring they to me" [the flight of geese looks like writing on the sky].

"All desolate was the cave of Miho, of the plumy (*ho*) flag (*susuki*) reed minding, where once lay the young hero of the warrior-guild (*kume-be*)."

"Even should I return to the days of my youth (as the ivy returns upon itself?), even then should I haply live long enough to see renewed the glory of well-laid Nara, City-Royal?"

"Is this but the gleam of new fallen snow, or is it the brightness of spring I see?"

"Seek ye a hill where to dig out fine red ochre for ships and images? Dig ye about Heguri no aso's nose." Heguri no aso was no *geko* (teetotaller), but had a *zakurobana* (pomegranate nose), which he coloured between A.D. 729 and 765.

The above are taken at random. The extracts, generally, given in the paper represent rather the variety of the contents of the Manyôshiu than the best work of its poets; many of the finest pieces require too much explanation to be conveniently cited. The principal compiler of the Anthology was Yakamochi, who was one of the four chief contributors, the other three being Hitomaro, Akahito, and Okura. He made use of previous attempts, and probably the first two books were arranged by Moroye. All five poets were court officials. Most of the last four books is taken up with Yakamochi's own work. His Chinese correspondence and interchange of verse with his friend Ikenushi, who was governor of the province adjoining that over which Yakamochi ruled, is to be noted. It affords proof that by the middle of the 8th century, Chinese literature and composition were thoroughly appreciated at the Mikado's court, even before the close of the Nara period.

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The uta of the Kojiki are mostly short. Only one seems to possess any poetic merit. A version, based upon that of Mr. Chamberlain, will be found on p. 304 of my "Primitive Texts." The Princess Susori alluding to her husband complains—

"Thou hast on every headland
. . . . .
a wife thou hast, as tender
as fresh spring herbs are,
but I am but a woman,
no man but thee, lord,
but thee none spouse may call."

According to Motowori's commentory, followed by Mr. Chamberlain, many of the *uta* are most indecent. To me it seems very doubtful whether Motowori's explanations are really correct. The Nihongi *uta* are better. They may be read in Dr. Aston's valuable translation of the Chronicles. Of the *uta*, the renderings there given hardly do justice to their authors; Ihida's great edition of the Nihongi throws valuable light upon them. I am of opinion that all the *uta* in both works are mere interpolations (or were written up to), and were not composed as stated in the text. One of the Nihongi *uta* will be found in my book; it concludes, with the world-wide complaint—

"And so we slumbered sweetly
till that the cock crew,
and from the moorland border
the pheasant screamed,
and dawn of day announced sweet,
ere half my tale,
my tale of love was told thee."

Of the story of the Wicker-worker in Bamboo, *Taketori no Monogatari*, the composition is variously dated between the year-periods Daidô (A.D. 806–810) and Yengi (A.D. 901–923). It is the earliest of the Monogatari founded in part upon Buddhist tales brought from India, directly or through China and Korea, deftly intervened with purely Japanese matter, and in the Quests, reflecting with subdued sarcasm, perhaps, upon the vaunting habits of the courtiers of City-Royal.

"The *Taketori Monogatari* is not merely a romance, nor is it simply a tale or *märchen*. It is a novel . . . with a distinct Buddhist purpose, written in a romantic strain and embellished

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with wonder-stories. The principal personage of the novel is not the 'taketori,' the bamboo-hewer and wicker-worker, the story is not told by him, nor is it, strictly speaking, of him; the personage of the story is its heroine, Kaguyahime, the Lady of Light, and the object of it is the Buddhist one, with a Taouist tinge, of showing how a fault may be expiated by resistance to temptation. The Moon-maiden, exiled on earth from her bright home—for the shadow of a thought of love 'tis hinted—by her shrewdness and steadfastness in meeting the importunities and resisting the advances of mortal lovers, including the Mikado himself, yet without harshness, in other words by her native wit and womanly σωφροσύνη, redeems her fault, and, cleansed from the stain attaching even to a blameless sojourn in the lower world, is ready, when the appointed time comes, for the company of angels who descend on a cloud to escort her through the sky to her homeland, the moon.

"The maiden is revealed to the Wicker-worker in the hollow of a bamboo, and brought up by him and his good wife with the aid of gold found night after night in the bamboos he gathers and splits for his trade. The fame of her beauty is noised through the land, and she is sought in marriage by a number of noble suitors, five of whom, by a process of natural selection, prove themselves worthier, or rather, less unworthy, than the rest, and are told that he amongst them who shall bring the maiden the rarest and costliest treasure shall win her hand. Two of them offer counterfeits, one of which is detected by the maiden herself, while the other is revealed through the unjust action of the suitor. The third suitor endeavours to accomplish the task by the lavish expenditure of money, but is defrauded by his agent; the fourth is honest but stupid; and the fifth, through ignorance of the Way of Buddha, commits an impious action, and retires from the world in disgrace.

"So far Kaguya has undergone her proof with comparative ease. But now the Mikado himself seeks her; she must avoid his importunity, yet without failing in her duty as a loyal dweller in his land. The story is extremely well told; one is almost tempted to believe that the Quests are later additions. The maiden never fails for a moment either in Buddhist rectitude or in earthly loyalty, and well earns the pardon of her offence. During her abode on earth she has learnt the virtue of

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filial piety—a Confucianist touch—and it is with increasing grief that in the last year of her stay in this lower world she watches, month after month, the waxing and waning of the moon, for she knows that when the mid eighth moon shall come and the orb shall be at its fullest, she must leave her earthly home and again become a denizen of Moonland. At the moment of quitting her foster-parents the sight of their misery almost overcomes her, but a celestial Robe of Feathers is cast over her shoulders, and all remembrance of earthly things is taken away from her. She leaves a letter of adieu for the Wicker-worker, and of humble farewell and loyal excuse with a bamboo-bottle of Elixir for the Mikado, who had sent a host of men-at-arms to protect her, but in vain, against the Moon-folk. But the Mikado will not touch the Elixir. What is long life to him without the radiant maiden, of whose beauty he alone among mortals outside the Wickerworker's home has been favoured with a glimpse? He orders a company of men-at-arms to carry the Elixir to the highest peak of the 'mountain which soars nearest to heaven'—to Fujisan, where it is to be burnt with fire. The Elixir is borne there accordingly, and burnt, 'and from that day to this the smoke of that burning drifteth amid the clouds of heaven.'

"The art and grace of the story of the Lady Kaguya are native, its unstrained pathos, its natural sweetness, are its own, and in simple charm and purity of thought and language it has no rival in the fiction either of the Middle Kingdom or of the Dragon-fly Land. The tags of word-plays that close the tale of each Quest answer simply to the 'whereby you may see' of the *Hundred Merry Tales*, while the story of the Fifth Quest, despite its air of farce, is redeemed by its illustration of a world-wide piece of folk-lore. Perhaps, indeed, the Moon-maiden's story stood originally alone, the work of some pious but not too orthodox Buddhist, not disdainful of Confucianism, who shaped a Taouist legend into an allegory exemplifying the great doctrine of *ingwa*, or Cause and Effect, in the maiden's recovery of her celestial home through subdual of the very feeling the indulgence of which had led her to exile, despite the circumstance that a Mikado sought to inspire, and a father to foster, the tender sentiment."[1]

[1] From my "Primitive and Mediæval Japanese Texts."

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The following extracts will give a sufficient notion of the style and substance of this ancient romance:—

"The ancient said to the miko (the hero of the Second Quest, that of the Jewelled Spray)—

"'Your servant would fain know what manner of place it may be where groweth this tree (whence the spray was to have been taken)—how wonderful a thing it is, and lovely and pleasant to behold!' And the miko answered: 'The year before yester-year, on the tenth of the second month (*kisaragi*), we took ship at Naniwa and fared out into the open sea, not knowing what track to follow; but I thought to myself, What were the profit of life, if I might not attain the desire of my heart? So pressed we onwards, blown whither the wind listed. If we perished even, what mattered it? while we lived we would make what way we could over the sea-plain, and perchance thus might we somehow reach the mountain men called Hôrai. So resolved, we fared further and further over the heaving waters, until far behind us lay the shores of our own land. And as we wandered thus afar, now deep in the trough of the sea—we saw its very bottom belike; now blown by the gale, we came upon strange lands, where creatures like demons fell upon us and were like to have slain us; now, knowing neither whence we had come nor whither we tended, we were almost swallowed up by the sea; now, failing of food we were driven to live upon roots; now, again, indescribably terrible beings came forth and would have devoured us; or we had to sustain our bodies by eating of the spoil of the sea. Beneath strange skies were we, and no human creature was there to give us succour; to many diseases fell we prey as we drifted along knowing not whitherwards, and so tossed we over the sea-plain, letting our ship drift before the wind for five hundred days. Then, about the hour of the dragon, four hours ere noon, saw we a high hill looming faintly over the unknown watery waste. Long we gazed at it, and marvelled at the majesty of the mountain rising out of the sea. Lofty it was and fair of form, and doubting not it was the mountain we were seeking, our hearts were filled with awe. We plied the oar, and coasted it for two days or three, and then we saw a woman, arrayed like an angel, come forth out of the hills, bearing a silver vessel, which she filled with water at a fount. So we landed and

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accosted her, saying: "How call men this mountain?" and she said, "'Tis Mount Hôrai," whereat our hearts were filled with joy. "And you who tell us this, who then are you?" we inquired. "My name is Hôkanruri,"[1] she answered, and thereupon suddenly was lost among the foothills. On scanning the mountain, we saw no man could climb its slopes, so steep were they, and we wandered about the foot thereof, where grew trees bearing blooms the world cannot show the like of. There we found a stream flowing down from the mountain, the waters whereof were rainbow-hued, yellow as gold, white as silver, blue as precious ruri (lapis-lazuli or turquoise); and the stream was spanned by bridges built up of divers gems, and by it grew trees laden with dazzling jewels, and from one of these I broke off the spray which I make bold now to offer to the Lady Haguya. An evil deed, I fear me, but how could I do otherwise than achieve the task laid upon me? Delightful beyond all words is yonder mountain, in all the world there existeth not its like. After I had broken off the branch, my heart failed within me, and I hasted on board, and we sped before a fair wind, and after some four hundred days we came to Naniwa, whence but yesterday, so great, belike, was my desire, I set out for City-Royal, and now have I hasted here without even changing my wayfarer's vestments, all soddened with sea-water though they be.'"

From Book IX., entitled "The Celestial Robe of Feathers."

"The ancient heard, and went to the maiden and said to her—

"'What aileth thee, child, that after this sad fashion thou gazest upon the moon's orb? Thy life is not miserable here?'

"'As I gaze upon the moon,' murmured the Lady, 'my heart faileth me because of the wretchedness of this world. What other grief were mine?'

"Again the ancient went to her chamber and saw that her misery was greater than ever, wherefore he cried—

"'My Buddha, my Buddha,[2] what is thy trouble, what grieveth thee?'

"'Nought grieveth me,' she answered, 'but my heart faileth me.'

[1] Hokanruri, a Buddist compound = treasure-crowned *ruri* stone.

[2] A term of endearment.

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"'Gaze not so on the moon,' said the ancient; 'it is such watching of the orb that bringeth thee this sadness.'

"'How may I cease to look upon the moon?' said the Lady; and more and more, as the moon rose, she went out to gaze upon the orb, and deeper and deeper grew her sadness. But on moonless nights her sorrow departed from her. As the moon waxed, times and again she lamented and wept. As those who served her watched her, they felt assured she nursed some secret grief, and whispered that it was so among themselves, but what was the reason of her woe none could guess, not even her parents. When the eighth month came and the moon shone at its fullest, Kaguyahime wept still more sorely, and as she wept sought no longer to conceal her tears. When her foster-parents saw her state they very earnestly besought her to tell them the cause of her grief.

"So, at last, weeping bitterly, Kaguyahime said: 'Times and again[1] have I thought to confess to you why I am troubled, but I knew how I should distract your heart with grief, and so have I kept silent till now when I must tell you why I have gone forth so often to gaze upon the moon's face. I am no creature of this world; my true home is City-Royal in Moonland. Long ago it was decreed that I should descend upon this earth for a space, but now draweth nigh the time when I must return. As yonder orb shall wax to its fullest, a company of beings shall come down from the sky to bear me away, nor can I avoid my doom; and so you know why, since the first days of spring, day by day have I become more sorrowful and sad.'

"'What thing is this thou tellest me?' cried the ancient. 'Did I not find thee in the hollow of a bamboo, and did we not rear thee from the time when thou wert small as a rape-seed until thy stature was like my own? What folk be these who would rob me of my own child? I will die ere they take thee,' he added, bursting into tears and lamentations.

"'Moonland-folk are my true father and mother,' exclaimed Kaguyahime. 'For a while only descended I on this earth, but now have I dwelt with you many a year. I have no memory of my father and mother who dwell up yonder, and so long have I lived under your fostering care that I care but

[1] When questioned by the ancient.

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little for the glories of Moonland, and should know nothing but misery in leaving you. But, alas! I may not follow my own heart in this matter, and cannot avoid the parting.'[1]

"The ancient and his good-wife and Kaguyahime then wept together. Her women, too, who had served her all these years, and thus had come to love her as they watched her growing in goodness and grace, could not bear the idea of her departure, and gasped with grief, so as not to care even to swallow a single cup of warm water, and shed tears in company with her parents.'"

Mr. Dickins's lecture was illustrated by slides thrown on the screen representing various xylographs taken from old Japanese books. Among these were the accompanying woodcuts from the "Yamato Maisho," and explained above.

After the paper the CHAIRMAN said that, as it had not taken so long to read as he expected, he hoped that there might be time for discussion on the subject.

Mr. CAREY HALL, M.J.S., said he was sure that he was expressing the opinion of all present in saying how much they were indebted for the interesting paper. It was not to-day nor yesterday that Mr. Dickins had begun his studies of Japanese literature, for he remembered, over forty years ago, making the acquaintance of Japanese poetry by means of Mr. Dickins's book on this subject, and since that time, though he had studied many other Japanese matters, he remained faithful to his early love.

Mr. Dickins's later works had been judged by competent judges to be indispensable additions to the library of students of Japanese literature. Authorities on this subject were all agreed on one particular point, namely, the impersonality of Japanese poetry, which characteristic indeed might be said to apply, not only to the poetry, but to the Japanese language itself, and it had also been described as peculiar to Chinese poetry. This afforded an interesting subject for commentation, and he ventured to propose a theory concerning the peculiarity. The majority of the subjects of Japanese poems were of an abstract nature, the reason for this, in his opinion, being that the poetry originated in an earlier stage of the human mind than that which had now been attained. The human mind was a product of social evolution; there was a stratification of thought as well as of rock,

[1] The text of this passage is defective.

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and this old poetry belonged to an earlier stratum of thought, though by no means necessarily inferior. Among the recent discoveries of man nad been the striking fact that the civilization of which we are the inheritors began, not with the Aryan nor with the Semitic races, but with that stock of the race to which the Japanese belong, namely, the Turanian. It had been thought that the ancient languages were all Semitic, but after a while it was discovered that the early Semitic civilization of Mesopotamia was itself an outgrowth of a still earlier civilization belonging to the same stock as the Japanese, and this people it was who made the first steps towards the invention of writing.

Such facts as these could never have been obtained were it not for such researches as those made by Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Aston, and Mr. Dickins. He thought, therefore, that Mr. Dickins's lecture had a double interest—first, in widening one's outlook generally, and, secondly, as a contribution towards materials for investigation into the development of the human mind. He thought the Meeting was very much indebted to Mr. Dickins for the interest which he had shown on this subject, which had been embodied in volumes which competent judges would affirm to be indispensable to the libraries of students of Japanese literature.

Professor LONGFORD (*Member of Council, J.S.*) said he had a very easy task in asking permission to be allowed to join in expressing the general Vote of Thanks of the Society to Mr. Dickins for his lecture. He was sure he was voicing what must have been in the minds of all present in appreciating the vast amount of sound scholarship which had been shown. They had all listened with great interest, and he thought, also, that Mr. Dickins had succeeded in treating the subject, which was in itself a very difficult one, in such a way as to make it popular.

He thought that everything that could be said upon it in the way of criticism had been said by Mr. Hall, and he would therefore not attempt to add anything further. He would, however, like to make a few remarks regarding the position which Mr. Dickins occupied in scholarship. It was thirty years since he himself had commenced the study of Japanese; at that time Mr. Dickins had already been occupied in this study many years, and since then had never ceased to continue his early work, as had been evinced by his various publications given to the world and his papers read before this Society. One of the most distinguishing features of the Japan Society was that it acted as the medium for bringing forward such papers as those of Mr. Dickins, and he could safely say that they were not only deeply grateful to Mr. Dickins for his large contributions to the transactions of their Society, but that they would always look forward to welcoming him cordially and heartily in the future.

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He concluded by begging to express the vote of thanks of the Meeting for Mr. Dickins's interesting paper.

Mr. OSMAN EDWARDS (*Member of Council, J.S.*) thanked Mr. Dickins for reading the paper that evening. It so often happened that, from circumstances over which they had no control, authors were unable to read their papers, that Mr. Dickins's effort was doubly appreciated. He had himself read Mr. Dickins's works from cover to cover, and though they were no doubt technical and erudite, he had always derived the greatest pleasure from their perusal, and therefore he had no hesitation in seconding most heartily the thanks proposed by Professor Longford.

Paymaster W. BLAKENEY, M.J.S., said that, if he might be allowed to suggest a theory, he would like to say that the Japanese language, in his opinion, found its origin in the very heart of Asia, near the Caspian Sea. For the Japanese had once sent an expeditionary force from the coast of Manchuria along the valley of the river Amoor until they came to a land speaking a language very like their own. The Japanese Government had sent learned men to pursue this quest, and had traced the language as far back into Central Asia as the eastern boundary of Afghanistan. He wondered, too, if it were known to those who had studied the language that the Japanese had themselves sent men by way of the Kurile Islands across the seas to try and trace their ancestors down the coast of America as far south as Central America, and there were Japanese proofs that, at least one thousand years before Columbus discovered the Western world the Japanese saw the Atlantic Ocean.

The CHAIRMAN said that he was sure the audience was interested in what Mr. Blakeney had said about the spread of the Japanese language, although it was somewhat outside the province of their discussion that evening, and he begged Mr. Dickins to accept their hearty vote of thanks.

Mr. DICKINS acknowledged his appreciation of the thanks of the Meeting, which, however, he said he did not deserve, as what he had offered them that evening had been purely a labour of love. He had at an early age been fascinated by the glamour of Japan, and had never shaken off this fascination. What he had said that evening was merely a tentative effort. The whole subject of the early forms of the Japanese tongue and the origin of the language and civilization required an amount of research which had not, as yet, been accomplished, and no doubt within the next decade or two we should learn much more.

He might take the opportunity of saying, on that occasion, that the relations of early Japan to the Asian continent are not, curiously enough, referred to in any of the old Japanese books, poems, prayers,

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or even myths. So far as he knew, there was no single reference to the continent in Shinto; nevertheless the continental origin is a certain fact, and a full explanation of this remarkable omission should be an object of future research.

He concluded by thanking them all most heartily for their vote of appreciation, and hoped that interest would be sufficiently aroused to induce people to look at the original texts given in his book, and master it so well as to be able to throw the translations into the waste-paper basket.

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THE

NINETY-FOURTH ORDINARY MEETING,

(FOURTH OF THE SIXTEENTH SESSION,)

FEBRUARY 13TH, 1907.

[*Held in the Hall at 20, Hanover Square, London.*]

Mr. CHARLES HOLME (*Chairman of Council, J.S.*) took the Chair at 8.30 P.M., when a Paper entitled "THE SELECTION OF JAPANESE PRINTS" was read by Mr. SAMUEL TUKE, M.A., M.J.S.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the meeting, said that they had before them that evening an interesting subject connected with the art of Japan—an art which he thought was the best in Europe and America, though this art, which was essentially democratic in its nature, had not, in the old days, been held in very high repute.

In dealing with the subject, they were fortunate enough to have Mr. Tuke to expound his views on the matter. He had been in Japan, and had made a large collection of pictures and prints for the purpose of carefully examining and making himself thoroughly acquainted with their various states and characteristics. Thus collectors would be interested as well as those who did not collect, for they would gain much information respecting the pictures.

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THE SELECTION OF JAPANESE PRINTS.

By SAMUEL TUKE, M.A., M.J.S.

I HAVE been asked to read you a paper on the selection of Japanese prints. Now, I have been a collector of these charming sheets of printed paper for a special object—for the purpose of compiling a dictionary of the artists of a particular school of Japanese painting, which might be of service to collectors, who took any interest at all in the individuality of the various wood-cut designers of the Ukiyo-ye school. Necessarily, therefore, a collection formed for this object is not a selection. So, from one point of view, I am the last person who ought to have been asked to undertake this task. Yet perhaps the mere fact of having looked over an enormous number of prints gives a certain width of view, which could not be otherwise acquired.

In any case the subject is an interesting one, and for what they are worth I will endeavour to give you my views upon it.

Now, to commence with, a collector of Japanese prints at the present time must have a very long purse, if he intends to make a collection of the very best impressions, of the most satisfactory subjects, by the comparatively few well-known artists who worked before the end of the 18th century. Such a collection can only be made by buying when possible, and discarding when a better example comes into the market.

The prints which specially claim the attention of the collector are colour-printed. Their qualities are numerous, but may be divided into two classes. I. Technical, and II. Artistic.

I. By Technical, I mean the "state"[1] of the impression. A

[1] Although the word "state" in the general acceptation of the term is not the exact equivalent of the word as I have used it here, it is perhaps upon the whole the most satisfactory one to employ.

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good early state implies that the print must have been taken while the outline block was sharp and new; that the colour blocks employed must have been the original ones, and the colours those selected by the artist; that the register should have been correctly used in printing, so that the colours do not leave blank spaces, and overlap the outline; and that the paper should be soft and capable of properly retaining the colour.

Of course the print should be clean and in good condition; neither smoke nor dirt should have discoloured the ground, or softened the colours, nor should they have been faded by exposure to the sunlight.

But here I begin to tread upon the ground of artistic qualities; for some collectors think that a crudely coloured print is improved by a little fading or even by the dark orange stain of wood smoke. Again, French collectors admire prints in which the "*tan*"—red oxide of lead—has become deoxidized, presenting a pale orange-pink ground with dark metallic markings. Other collectors rectify this deoxidization with chemicals. But these are purely matters of taste.

II. By Artistic qualities, I mean drawing, composition, colour scheme, and subject, which are purely matters of individual taste.

To recapitulate, the "points" of a good print are these—

1. Good sharp impression from unworn outline block.
2. Original colour-blocks, and original colours.
3. Printing exact to the register.
4. Good paper.
5. Clean.
6. Not worm-eaten or otherwise damaged.
7. Unfaded.
8. Well drawn.
9. Good composition.
10. Good colour scheme.
11. Pleasing subject.

Unfortunately, the work of selection is made extremely difficult, (i.) by Reprints, and (ii.) by Forgeries.

(i.) Reprints are of various kinds.

A. Second states, where original outline and colour blocks have been employed, but which were printed either in different or inferior colours, not under the artists' immediate supervision.

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B. Third states, where original outline blocks have been employed, but new colour blocks and different colours.

C. Fourth states, where the outline blocks have been retouched, and fresh colour blocks and colouring employed.

Now, although prints in all these states are unsatisfactory, they vary in artistic, and probably also in commercial, value, according to the length of time which has elapsed between the first and after printings, which will naturally have depended upon the popularity of the first edition.

It is obvious that if the first state edition was a large one, both outline and colour blocks will be much more worn at the second printing than if the first edition had been a small one. At the same time, if the first edition were rapidly sold out, it is equally obvious that the second printing would be likely to follow closely upon the first, and even if it is not merely a second printing of the first state edition, it is likely to resemble the colouring of the first state edition far more closely than if it had taken place several years later.

Take, for example, the four prints I show from Hoku-sai's Fu-gaku sangin-rok-kei series, "The Sawyers of Yamanaka."

No. 2 is a first state impression, with blue outline and red seals, and with Hoku-sai's own colour scheme.

No. 3 is a second state impression, still with fairly sharp blue outline, now no red seal, and the change in the colour of the sky, and in other details of the colour-printing.

No. 4. Another but later second state impression or possibly a third state impression, for, although the colouring has changed, there is no proof of new colour blocks.

No. 5 is a fourth state impression, in which the original outline block has been retouched, and an entirely new set of colour blocks used, with modern colours.

These prints serve admirably to show how many editions or even states of the same print are often in existence.

Again, outline blocks by Nishimura Shige-naga were brought to me in Tōkyō, which were probably carved 175 years ago. These blocks, which had been stored in the go-down of some publishing bookseller, had never apparently been retouched, but were considerably worn, as will be seen by reference to No. 1. Who can tell how many editions have been printed from these blocks during the past 175 years?

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In cases of this kind, where there were never any colour blocks—for "coloured prints" from them would probably have been hand-coloured *urushi-ye*—the sharpness of the impression and the quality of the paper can be our only guides.

Hoku-sai's "Fu-gaku san-jiu-rok-kei" prints and his celebrated bridges and waterfalls, we know, went through several editions, though the period during which they were being published cannot have been more than seventy-five years, and was, so far as states (i.), A and B are concerned, not likely to have covered more than a third of this time. First-state editions were probably numerous, and states A and B followed very closely upon them.

The fourth-state impressions of the "Fugaku-san-jiu-rok-kei" were printed in 1892, and in 1895 were limited to twelve plates. They were published as reprints, and not as forgeries.

I never saw any very recent reprints of the Bridges, and as I know where six of the outline blocks are, there will probably never be any examples of the fourth state of this series.[1] Here collectors may, to a certain extent, be guided by the size of the plates, as the blocks, though not retouched, have been considerably cut down since the first printings.

The case of the Waterfall series is a different one. Here a fraudulent edition has recently been published, which can only be distinguished by a careful comparison with the originals. The outline blocks are probably new ones, but only an expert could detect anything wrong with the paper, though the colours are not quite satisfactory in the clean copies. With an original at hand it is, however, easy to detect the imposture, but this brings me naturally to the subject of—

(ii.) Forgeries. These are of two or three kinds.

A. Reproductions. New outline blocks made from tracings of existing prints.

B. New prints with names of bygone artists attached.

C. Prints where one artist's name has been substituted for another.

A. In this category come a well-known series by Suzu-ki Haru-nobu, a recent reproduction of Uta-maro's silkworm

[1] Since reading this paper, I have come across prints of the "Bridge" series which cause me to fear that some of the other blocks have been used recently.

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series, and a large number of *suri-mono* by Hoku-sai and his contemporaries.

Uta-maro's silkworm series was not published as a forgery, but merely as a reproduction. It could deceive no one who had seen the original.

The Haru-nobu forgeries, on the other hand, were meant to deceive, and are very difficult to detect, and consequently in many cases very little inferior to the originals.

The Hoku-sai *suri-mono* are easily distinguishable in the majority of cases, even without an examination of the paper, which is hard and smells new, but in a few examples only careful comparison with the originals is quite convincing, especially in the case of some by Yana-gawa Shige-nobu, and Gaku-tei Haru-nobu.

B and C. As to prints with a fraudulent signature, these again can only be detected with difficulty, but will probably be found to contain some of the Suzu-ki Haru-nobu forgeries.

Generally speaking, the novice should be wary of nice clean impressions of well-known prints, unless they come from a well-known collection, and it would be well to consult an expert before risking money on what may turn out to be a comparatively valueless imitation.

It would be quite impossible, in a paper of this sort, to do more than direct the collector in a general manner. Even to go through the most popular series of the best known artists in detail would be out of the question.

Another difficulty that the beginner has to face is the fact that in many cases there were two or even more artists of the same name.

Thus there were in all probability two Tori-i Kiyo-nobu, one the son and pupil of the other. There were two Uta-maro, one the pupil of the other; there were four or five Uta-kawa Toyo-kuni, the master, two of his pupils, and one at least of Kumi-sada's pupils, who all assumed this name; there were also two Hoku-sai, the master and his pupil Tai-to II.; two Yana-gawa Shige-nobu, father and son, though the latter also called himself Shige-yama. Shi-ba Ko-kan is said to have forged the name of Suzu-ki Haru-nobu, but we have yet to learn whether any of his forgeries are in existence, and if so, whether they were inferior to Suzu-ki's own work.

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There is no royal road to knowledge on this subject. It is a case of careful study and comparison, with, perhaps, a little natural gift for the process. But enough of this part of the subject.

The next point to be considered is that of period. Broadly speaking, the history of the art of Japanese coloured woodcuts is divisible into four periods.

I. 1700 to 1764. Black and white, urushi-ye and beni-ye.

II. 1765 to 1818. Rise and culmination of multi-colour printing.

III. 1818 to 1867. Decadence.

IV. 1867 to 1907. Revival.

A collector of the prints of the first period will buy his knowledge dear, but the result may repay him. He will have to go far to form his collection, but it is not likely to be a large one.

The second period opens up a rather wider range, and a considerably larger number of well-known artists.

The third period, including as it does the late work of Hoku-sai, the landscapes of Hiro-shige, and the virile draughtsmanship of Kuni-yoshi, is not so contemptible as it might appear at first sight.

The fourth period is within the reach of all, and among modern artists the delicate work of Sei-tei Wata-nabe, the powerful drawing of Kio-sai, the weirdness of Yoshi-toshi, and the graceful designs of Gek'ko prove that the art is not yet extinct.

My advice to collectors is to choose a period, an artist, a subject, or a particular form of picture, for colour printing is not limited to the broad sheet.

From a pictorial point of view, the triptych is perhaps the most fascinating, or the long narrow *hashira-kakushi*, the square new year's *suri-mono*, or the charming little many-shaped *kio-ka suri-mono*. But there are many other varieties, and each is charming in its own way.

The collector must be guided by his purse and his taste as to which of the periods he selects. If his purse and his taste cannot be reconciled, he must either be content with dirty or injured impressions, or else give up the idea of becoming a collector.

Even if his purse and taste both point to the earlier masters,

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I should recommend him to commence operations upon dirty or injured prints, and to gradually weed out as he comes across better examples. These dirty and injured prints should, of course, if possible, be first states, good impressions, with good colours. In this way he will learn his subject at comparatively small cost. He will then be in a position to attend sales in France, America, and Germany, or go through dealers' collections with a sound knowledge of his subject as a guide.

The advice I should give to a collector with a more limited purse would be to take up a single artist, or sub-school, and to commence operations in a similar manner, always aiming at good impressions, with the original colouring, even if dirty or injured, and discarding as he comes across more perfect examples. Even if the prints are clean and in good condition, bad colours and bad impressions will only lower the standard of his taste.

Uta-kawa Kuni-yoshi is an artist whose work has not yet received the attention which it merits. His wonderful series of designs for the tatooer is comparatively unknown. Another series by him, the one hundred and eight heroes of China and Japan, is a masterpiece in its own line. His twenty-four paragons of filial piety and his illustrations of the life of Nichiren are interesting as showing foreign influence. His battle scene triptychs are appreciated even in Japan, whilst those illustrative of legends or incidents in girl-life are often excellent. One of his *kakemono-ye* was reproduced many years ago in France, and a similar honour has been accorded to examples of his upright "San-Kai" "mei-sho" series.

A series of portraits of actors by Toyo-kuni I., though some of his later work, are charming in colour and not so well known as they might be.

Kuni-sada's triptychs, from a decorative point of view, are often charming. He also executed an excellent upright Chi-shigura series, and his Chinese Hero series is little inferior to that of Kuni-yoshi.

Nor is the work of his pupil Sada-hide to be despised; he designed an enormous number of triptychs, some of which are excellent.

Then, although certain series by Hoku-sai are almost unobtainable, few people seem to know the number and beauty

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of his little *Kioka surimono*, which are still within the reach of most collectors. The same may be said of Kubo-ta Shum-man.

As a rule, it is better to collect the work of a master of a sub-school, as the pupils were often mere copyists of their master's style and subjects. By a master I do not mean necessarily the founder of a sub-school, but an artist of sufficient individuality to have had pupils of his own. For instance, Tori-i Kiyo-naga was not the founder of a sub-school, though perhaps its most talented representative, and even his pupil Kiyo-mine was a master in his turn. In fact, the mastership of a sub-school appears often to have descended to a pupil on the death of the founder, and, like the Roman "patria potestas," to have been a regular inheritance, existing as long as the family school survived.

Hoku-sai's pupil Hok'kei was the master of Gaku-tei Haru-nobu, even during Hoku-sai's lifetime, and the mantle of *suri-mono* designing appears to have descended through the fish-merchant Sakawa-ya to his pupil Ya-shima.

The work of the pupil was, however, often a setting to the genius of the master; it served to accentuate, though sometimes to exaggerate, his style.

Another form of collection would also be interesting: a given subject, and its different treatment by different artists.

For example, cherry or plum blossom viewing; the "Takara-bune" and seven gods of good fortune; the posting stations of the To-kai-do; the summer fête on the Sumida-gawa; the Awabi divers of Ye-no-shima; the eight views of Lake Biwa; the six Tama-gawa; the crossing of the O-i-gawa; the slaughter of the great wild boar. These are a few which come across my mind haphazard.

Such selections as these would be far more interesting than a collection of specimens made simply because they happened to take the collector's fancy, or because the acquiring mania was upon him.

It should also be borne in mind that it is possible to collect Japanese prints from an altogether different point of view to their mere artistic value—from a purely illustrative point of view. But this, I take it, requires no explanation. The instruction about Old Japan which can be obtained from Japanese

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prints is enormous, but it requires the aid of a Japanese who knew Japan before the period of Mei-ji. However, a collection of this sort is rather outside the scope of my present paper.

Perhaps I ought to go rather more into detail, and suggest certain collections which I think could be made with advantage.

In the first place, a collection of early prints, which would include prints in black and shades of black, hand-coloured prints, and *urushi-ye*, or lacquer pictures. It would date back to the 17th century, and include single sheets by Hishi-kawa Moro-nobu, and the members of his family school; the prints of Tori-i Kiyo-nobu, of his contemporaries and the early work of many of his pupils: the work of the little-known Kwai-gatsu-do: the early prints of the Oku-mura, Nishi-mura, and the *urushi-ye* of Nishi-kawa Suke-nobu of Kiōtō.

Such a collection, apart from its great historical interest, would be of considerable artistic value. It would be extremely difficult to form, as good specimens rarely come into the market. That they do sometimes was shown at the sale of the Hayashi collection in Paris in 1902.

The collector would always have to bear in mind the fact that it is quite possible that many prints which come into this category may have been coloured by amateurs, and not by the artist, or under his direction, and even at epochs much more recent than that at which the blocks were engraved or the original edition printed.

This period has been little studied, in England at all events, and would prove extraordinarily absorbing.

As a natural sequence to this would be a collection of colour-printed *beni-ye*. It would include the work of many of the *urushi-ye* artists, and in addition that of Kiyo-nobu II., of Ishi-kawa Toyo-nobu, and even the early work of Suzuki Haru-nobu.

This also, apart from its great artistic value, would be of the greatest historical value, and would possibly contain the answer to the at present unanswered query as to the correct date of the invention or introduction of colour-printing into Japan.

Beni-ye printing appears to have survived longer in Western than in Eastern Japan, for many frontispieces to illustrated books were printed in *beni-ye* colours down to the close of the 18th century.

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The next collection would naturally be one of early multi-colour-prints, and embrace a period roughly coinciding with Suzu-ki Haru-nobu's working lifetime. It would include the late work of Shige-naga, of Toyo-nobu, and of some of the Tori-i, of Ko-riu-sai, and of a whole group of little-known artists and artist printers, such as Kio-sen, whose names are known in connection with Haru-nobu. The period commences with the printing of the "Umi-no sai wai" in 1762, and closes fourteen years later with the publication of Shun-sho's "Sei-ro-Bi-jin" in 1776.

This collection would embrace the most sought after of all the Japanese colour-prints which combine extreme grace and simplicity of composition, and beauty of outline with great delicacy of colouring. But these qualities gradually changed to more complex composition, and more vivid colouring towards the end of the period.

The prints of this period were principally smallish, rather square prints, and *hashira kakushi-ye*; their subject-matter, for the most part girls and their occupations, apparently borrowed from Suke-nobu of Kiōtō, and in marked contrast to the actor-subjects of the Tori-i artists.

The next collection in point of time might partly overlap the last. It would include the portraits of actors on rather small upright single sheets, or *suzuki-mono*, by Katsu-kawa Shun-sho, his contemporary Ippitsu-sai Bun-cho, and his many pupils—among whom are included the two Shun-ro—Hoku-sai and Toyo-maru—also a few early examples of the work of Toyo-kuni I. The period hardly lasted in its purity beyond the death of Shun-sho in 1792. The subject was that of the Tori-i depicted by a new school. For at this time, the then leader of the Tori-i school, Kiyo-naga, fell under the influence of Suke-nobu and Haru-nobu, and deserted the stage and the pourtrayal of actors for the more graceful subject of the Japanese maiden.

This, however, brings me to another collection, perhaps the most popular of all—a collection of single sheets and triptychs by such artists as Kiyo-naga, Uta-maro Shun-cho, Shumman, Yei-shi, and Toyo-kuni I. in his early style. To go into detail upon so well-known a period, and upon such well-known artists will be superfluous. The period commenced before the period of Shun-sho closed, for Shun-sho was himself a designer of

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full-sized single sheets and triptychs, though these are very rare. In addition to the single sheet and its combinations, this group of artists also designed *hashira kakushi-ye*, and small squarish pictures, rather smaller than those of Haru-nobu (practically half single-sheet pictures).

But Kiyo-naga had pupils, notably Kiyo-mine ; Uta-maro, in addition to his own pupils, contemporaries, who had worked with him under Seki-yen ; Yei-shi had pupils ; and amongst other names I have omitted were those of Toyo-hiro and Shige-masa.

The best portion of this collection would be those prints published before the death of Uta-maro in 1806, though it perhaps might embrace a period ending in 1818.

Before leaving the 18th century, two other collections seem worth suggesting.

The first, a collection of "*uki-ye*." This form of print was a very early invention, examples occurring in "*urushi-ye*" form, by such artists as Tori-i Kiyo-mitsu I. and Ta-naka Masu-nobu. But it was apparently Uta-kawa Toyo-haru who developed the "*uki-ye*" into its multi-colour printed form, and he designed, in addition to numerous pictures of Japanese scenery, a large number of copies of European engravings of Rome and other places. He was followed by his pupils Toyo-hiro and Toyo-kuni in this form of picture, and even by Hoku-sai. It is quite possible that the latter artist got his idea for the Bridges and thirty-six Fuji series from the "*uki-ye*."

The "*uki-ye*" of Toyo-haru was a full-sized horizontal single sheet, with a legend, usually on the right-hand side of the print, inscribed with the characters for "*uki-ye*," the names of the place, of the artist, and of the publisher.

A somewhat similar form of print, and possibly another development from it, came into vogue early in the 19th century. Its peculiarity is a red sky. I could find no special name for it in Japan.

The second collection I have partly alluded to before, a collection of what are known as *suri-mono* to the foreign collector, though *suri-mono* in Japan merely means any kind of print.

Perhaps earlier, but certainly just before the close of the 18th century, such artists as Hoku-sai, Shige-masa Uta-maro,

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Toyo-hiro, Toyo-kuni, and notably in the second place Shumman, were designing some delightful little prints called "*kio-ka suri-mono*"—"mad or drunken song prints." These were of small size and varying shapes, with a picture and poem occupying the whole or part of the little sheets of paper. Such *suri-mono* are often dated, the best appearing between 1795 and 1802. They belong, in fact, to the best period of Uta-maro, though they continued to be produced during the greater part of the 19th century, just as the single sheet and triptych did.

It seems as if the other forms of *suri-mono* came into general fashion about the same time—the end of the 18th century. The long narrow horizontal doubled invitation or advertisement *suri-mono*, and the better-known *shun-kio-no suri-mono*, or new year *suri-mono*, printed on small, almost square sheets of thick, soft paper. But the last was perhaps a development of what I have called the *kio-ka suri-mono*, and the most recent of the three forms.

A collection of *suri-mono* of any special form would be charming, and not very bulky; but beware of imitations!

Even earlier than 1806 (or 1818, the Japanese date for the commencement of the decadence) much of the simplicity of design and purity of line had been lost in a mass of detail, which, beautiful enough in itself, and though attesting to the skill of both engraver and colour-printer, is yet not so satisfactory from an artistic point of view alone. It was the beginning of the end.

Of 19th-century collections, perhaps the most popular would be a collection of landscapes. *Ukiyo-ye* landscape seems to have derived its inspiration from the Shi-jo school in Kiōtō, but foreign influence may have had some effect upon its treatment, if not by Hoku-sai, certainly by Hiro-shige.

I have already alluded to Hoku-sai's "Thirty-six Views of Fuji," and to his celebrated bridges, and to his waterfalls, and should also include his incomplete series of the *Hiaku-nin is'shiu*. Hiro-shige's series are much more difficult to discriminate. His work is well known, though few connoisseurs appear to be really certain as to what was the work of the first Hiro-shige, and what that of his first pupil of the same name.

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So far my only true guides are a certain number of signatures. Two prints are specially useful, one is signed "2nd generation of Hiro-shige," and the other, "3rd generation of Hiro-shige." Some of the second Hiro-shige's earlier prints are signed "Shige-nobu." The rest is a question of comparison of styles and signatures.

As far as I can make out, the following series were the work of the first Hiro-shige:—

The well-known "To-kai-do go-jiu-san-tsugu."

The "To-to mei-sho" (Tōkiō scenery).

The Kiōtō mei-sho (Kiōtō scenery).

One, and possibly two, series of the "Omi hak'kei" (eight views of Lake Biwa).

The "Fishes."

Except in the case of a few of the prints in the last series, all these prints bear similar signatures. Both landscape and figures, though powerfully drawn, are somewhat grotesque.

On the other hand, some triptychs bearing the signature of Shige-nobu are noteworthy for the almost foreign excellence of the landscape, and the more normal drawing of the figures; also landscapes of similar character signed Hiro-shige do not bear the same signature as that which I consider characteristic of Hiro-shige I.

I confess that the subject is extremely difficult, and from the point of view of signature alone, even with the large material at my disposal, I have not arrived at a conclusion satisfactory to myself.

All that I can say is that Hiro-shige I. generally made use of a certain signature which Hiro-shige II. seldom copied,[1] but that Hiro-shige I. may have also used a signature common to both the others.

A comparison of illustrated books does not throw much light upon the subject, beyond seeming to corroborate my opinion that signature only is no conclusive test, and further convincing me that style alone is a safe guide.

But a collector of the works of the three Hiro-shige might be

[1] An exception to this generalization occurs in the signature to (Uta-kawa 18) Ichi-yu-sai Hiro-shige II., where the "shige" character is written in the manner which I have described as characteristic of Hiro-shige I.

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able to clear up the subject in a way which is impossible for a general collector.

Roughly speaking, the second Hiro-shige's style was less archaic and grotesque, and more foreign, than that of his master. Whereas the style of Hiro-shige III. was a poor copy of his master's.

I have already referred to one Omi hak'kei series as the work of Hiro-shige I. But there is another series of similar size, which is often mistaken for it, though it is possibly the work of Hiro-shige II. From an artistic point of view, I prefer this series to the other.

But the Hiro-shige seem to have delighted in reproducing the same subject time after time. I should be sorry to say how many series of the fifty-three posting stations on the To-kai-do exist, bearing the signature of Hiro-shige.

The series already referred to is horizontal, printed on ordinary single sheets with a margin. It has certainly been through two editions. The first edition was possibly published in book form, as specimens have almost invariably been folded down the middle.

Then there is an upright, full-sized series, treated in an entirely different manner, in combination with Kuni-yoshi and Kuni-sada ; an upright small-sheet series, in the style of Hiro-shige I., but without his characteristic signature ; a smallish horizontal edition by Hiro-shige II. ; yet another by the third, of similar size ; and finally, one more large upright sheet series, with large figures of girls and small landscapes at the top. But I do not think this list by any means exhaustive.

In addition to the series already mentioned are the following, which are generally attributed to Hiro-shige I. : A "Fuji san-jiu rok'kei ;" a "Mei-sho Ye-do hiak'kei" (both upright) ; a good series of shadows on paper windows ; a very good "Mukashi[1] ima jo-riu-ri" series ; and the "San-kai mei-sho" series.

It would be very interesting if the Japan Society would inaugurate a Hiro-shige exhibition, for the purpose of trying to clear up the present uncertainty regarding the work of these three artists.

It is impossible to quit the subject of Hiro-shige without

[1] This I attribute to Hiro-shige II.

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alluding to the "*tan-shaku*," usually a small narrow upright print often pasted on screens. The first and second and probably the third Hiro-shige made a speciality of designing these. The subjects are usually birds and flowers, but sometimes landscapes. They are numerous enough to suggest a separate collection. Here again the signature difficulty comes in.

Some of the large series of prints by the Uta-kawas and Hiro-shiges bear the artist's name upon a coloured label. It is, of course, quite possible that prints thus signed were either collaborations of the master and his pupils, elaborations of the master's rough sketches by his pupils, or emanations from the master's studio under his personal supervision, to all of which he allowed his signature to be appended. I have no exact grounds for this surmise, but it would explain why so few examples of the work of pupils are in existence who did not in their turn become masters. It is difficult to imagine, in the case of the number of prints which bear the names of such artists as Toyo-kuni and Hiro-shige, that the master did more than draw the original design, and at all events leave the arrangement of the colour blocks to his pupils, though of course under his supervision.

This would also explain the inferiority of the late work of Toyo-kuni, and of other artists also, and I have other reasons for believing it to be a correct statement of what actually happened.

Before leaving Hiro-shige altogether, I have yet another collection to suggest, one of *kake-mono-ye*. These are formed of two upright full-sized single sheets pasted together to make a narrow upright picture shaped like the commonest form of *kake-mono*. A smaller size is also in existence.

Hiro-shige used them for pictures of birds, but they had been previously used by earlier artists, such as Shun-sen, the second Uta-maro for portraits of *bi-jin*, *gei-sha*, and actors; also for similar purposes by many of the Uta-kawas, Yei-san, and Yei-sen. Kuni-yoshi's celebrated carp is an example of the *kake-mono-ye*.

Landscape is perhaps the redeeming feature of the decadence. As a rule it was used by the Uta-kawa as stage scenery, though an exception should be made for *uki-ye*, and a good series of the eight famous landscapes of Japan bearing

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the signature of Toyo-kuni, possibly by the second artist of that name.

A collection of the interminable portraits of *geisha* and *bi-jin* would be most useful from the point of view of design. It is difficult to imagine that many of these prints were anything more than fashion plates, yet the designs themselves are as beautiful as they are varied. But the Uta-kawa, as a rule, when they invaded the subjects of Kiyo-naga and Uta-maro, invested them with the coarseness of the stage, instead of the refinement of the upper classes.

I have already alluded to the work of Kuni-yoshi and Kuni-sada, and especially to their triptychs as worthy of attention.

Two more prolific artists of this period demand attention—Yei-san and his pupil Yu-sen.

At his best, Yei-san's triptychs and girl portraits are little inferior to those of the second Uta-maro. But he is seldom at his best, and, though a graceful draftsman and good colorist, is somewhat monotonous. Yet a charming collection might be made of his triptychs.

Yei-sen was also a very unequal artist. His *suri-mono* are quite delightful, and his landscapes excellent. He designed one very good To-kai-do series, and his book illustration alone shows what he could do if he wished.

It is difficult to suggest any further collection for this phase of the decadence, which practically ended with Hoku-sai's death in 1849. Twenty years later, at the commencement of the Mei-ji period in 1868, almost all the principal pupils of the great multi-coloured print masters were dead.

With Mei-ji came the "foreign devil" and his analine dyes from the "infernal regions," which with sardine tins, Berlin wool, and like horrors, for a time captivated the taste of the lower class Japanese by their novelty.

Sei-tei Watana-be and Okâ-ta Gek'ko may be congratulated upon having reformed this abuse, and perhaps we ought, for the same reason, to be grateful to the forgers of imitations of earlier prints.

But I must leave those who have been in Japan more lately than myself to suggest collections by recent artists, as otherwise I might leave out names which deserve mention. I may,

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however, remark that the triptychs illustrative of the Japanese-Chinese war form a most quaint collection, which will doubtless be still more interesting in years to come.

In conclusion, let me merely say that my own experience of collections of Japanese prints has been that they have covered too much ground. Of every possible sort, and by every well-known artist, they have been far too incomplete in detail, and too far reaching in endeavour. What is wanted are collections complete so far as they go—collections with an object.

It has also to be remembered that, apart from their artistic merit, Japanese prints can place before us the old feudal Japan, outwardly at any rate, the brightest and cleanest form of mediæval civilization which ever existed in this world of ours, in a way which nothing else can.

I have endeavoured to suggest to the lover of Japanese prints how to select. As to what to select, that must be a matter of individual taste.

Fortunately for the collector, the British Museum has at last commenced the formation of a collection, so that the study of this subject will shortly be simplified by the possibility of looking at good impressions of the best prints without a journey to France or America.

After the Lecture, the CHAIRMAN said that he would be very pleased to hear remarks from any one in the audience on this subject, especially from collectors, of whom he knew there were several present that evening.

Mr. STRANGE, M.J.S., said he had some hesitation in speaking on the subject that evening, since the institution with which he had the honour of being connected—the Victoria and Albert Museum—had been rather held up to reprobation in a paper in the Japan Society's *Transactions* for having discouraged public interest in Japanese art, and he feared that perhaps any criticism he had to make might be translated in the same direction. He thought, however, it was not widely known that at South Kensington they had some fifteen or sixteen thousand Japanese prints, and that the Museum had gone to the expense and trouble of publishing a handbook on the subject.

The question of Japanese prints was a very important one, and it was a curious fact that European nations had fastened upon Japanese colour prints almost to the entire exclusion of the other arts of Japan. Japanese painting was hardly known, either in England or in any other European country; there had been no exhibition of it, nor any reliable

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book written on the subject, and yet all cast a worshipping eye on these Japanese colour prints. One must not, however, forget that these prints were not the final productions of the men with whose names they were associated, but only the reproductions of their designs. He was not sure how the artist exercised supervision over these prints, nor in his experience had he ever come across any single shred of evidence that they did so.

That brought him to the more serious consideration of the question of states and editions. The term, as applied to engravings, meant, generally speaking, an alteration on the plate by the artist. One of the best known cases to which he could refer was that of Turner's "Liber Studiorum," where the second state, as revised under Turner's own direction, often contained a real improvement on the original impression. At all events, he thought that among collectors, in the accepted interpretation of the term, the successive states of a print were considered to be due to repeated alterations by the artist. He was quite willing to agree to everything Mr. Tuke had said so long as he left out the word "state," and confined himself to "edition." Here the commercial element came in, for Japanese booksellers and publishers often bought up the artists, and there were one or two cases on record—one of them being that of Utamaro—where the men sold themselves in self-defence to the publisher. It was a little difficult to imagine such a man taking a keen interest in the final production of his work, and he was not prepared to give the artist any credit for it; he was inclined to put it down to that extraordinary refinement of taste which was inherent in the Japanese nation. The engraver was the most skilful worker in facsimile the world had ever seen, and the printer, too, must have been a man of extraordinary dexterity and skill in handicraftsmanship, and of very refined taste, for, generally speaking, the prints up to the time of the decadence were superior from the point of view of colour-printing to anything that had been done in Europe, and he believed that, if placed side by side with the finest wood engravings that had ever been done, they would more than hold their own.

He hoped that he was not trespassing upon their time, but he would like to say that in one particular he was unwilling to follow Mr. Tuke, namely, in the making of formal collections. He had always thought that one of the great charms of Japanese colour-prints was their waywardness, and he would be extremely sorry to see any collection of these beautiful, interesting, and diverse things reduced to a question of names and states and qualifications, as if they were so many postage stamps. He did not know anything very much better in the way of decoration than collecting some forty or fifty of the colour-prints of Kunisada and making a frieze of them round the top of a room. He found that their practical value as regarded colour had been in that

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direction enormous, and, personally, he did not very much care whether they were first states or second states.

Then as regarded forgeries — these were sometimes extremely beautiful, and he thought that the only thing to do was, if the beauty of the print appealed to one, to buy it for its own sake, taking care, however, that one paid for it according to its intrinsic worth, and not for what it pretended to be worth.

He did not think he could add very much more, except to express his very warm appreciation of Mr. Tuke's efforts to throw some light on a subject of which the general public knew so little. The men who produced this beautiful work were artisans of very low standing, and very few took the trouble to inquire into their lives; indeed, what was known of them was sometimes not very creditable. We ought, however, to be very thankful to them for this wonderful gift of colour and technique which they had sent to us from the other side of the world, and he hoped that many more might be found who, like Mr. Tuke, would learn to understand and appreciate it.

Mr. Edmunds, M.J.S., said there had been some very nice points in Mr. Tuke's lecture regarding the general nature of colour-print collecting, but when it came to special points, such as anybody who wished to collect colour-prints might desire to learn, they could not be found. For instance, one of the points one might seek to learn in a collection was how to distinguish, say, between one of Utamaro's first prints and any later ones. There was a very clear and well-defined difference between one set of prints and another, but he did not hear from Mr. Tuke any hints to the collector which might help him to find this difference. It was quite easy for those who could observe the first edition of a print to be able to tell an original when they saw it, but when one's eyes were blinded by so many copies it might be very difficult. He would very much like to hear, for instance, from Mr. Tuke, how he could pick out a genuine Hokusai for the first time. His waterfalls were copied extensively. He remembered seeing some which had been copied from the originals, and in beautiful condition, which were selling for one shilling a-piece, but for a genuine Hokusai waterfall one could pay four or five pounds.

If it could be determined that the colours were those used by the artist himself, or under the supervision of the artist, a very great light would be thrown on this question. He was, however, inclined to believe that no such supervision after the year 1800 was made. A large portion of the prints and the production of the colours were done, not by the artist, but by the actual printer. If one took half a dozen different states and compared them, it would be found that they were put together in the same way as Turner did his "Liber Studiorum." The enormous difference which could be produced between one print and

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another in the process of printing was extraordinary. He knew of a case in Hokusai's work in which there was a figure of a child grasping an eagle, and which had been produced in three different ways, without any suspicion arising of their having been different editions. It was printed in three different colours, as if the printer workman of Japan had suggested to the artist to try a change. It was possible for us to admire a print for the wonderful effects produced, but the Japanese might admire it from very different points of view.

There was no means of determining the original colouring of a print, and one had to be very careful to choose them by editions, and not by what one conceived to have been the artist's original intention, for that was an unknown quantity. There were many points in regard to editions. He had known members of that Society show him what they believed to be examples of Hokusai's original edition, but they were not, and there were very few to be seen. What was the characteristic feature of a first edition of any of the works of the Japanese artists? There was one very safe and good way of telling this in an important and valuable picture, such as one by Utamaro, for it would be found that it was only printed in yellow, lilac, and blue—in no other edition are those colours only used.

Mr. TUKE said that when he wrote the paper he had not the faintest idea that he was saying anything which might give rise to argument. He used the word "state" to make it intelligible to the audience, but he was happy to withdraw it.

As to the question of the artist's own personal supervision, it was quite possible that many artists, after a certain point, took no longer any interest in their prints, but he thought that it was pretty conclusively proved, to any one who had gone through his portfolios, that they were really working with the wood engraver up to very recent times. He happened to have a portfolio of artists' sketches evidently intended for reproduction by the wood-engraver, portions of which had been painted, evidently as a guide to the colour printer. Of course they had never been used, as in that case they would have been destroyed in the process of printing. He thought that people could bear him out that the artist did work with the wood engraver, and among the collection exhibited there that evening was to be found a print signed by the engraver, and not by the artist. In many cases the engraver's name did not appear at all, but where it was given it might mean that he was working with the artist.

The CHAIRMAN said he would like to add a word or two with reference to Mr. Edmunds's remarks concerning the different impressions and editions. It was almost impossible to put into words how these differences might be seen.

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Referring to the other subject, there was no doubt that the artist took an interest in the production of his art. There were several letters left behind by Hokusai, in which he frequently referred to his engravers in writing to his publisher. From these we saw that on occasions he was most particular that his work should be produced by certain engravers, showing the interest he took in the matter.

He concluded by saying that the Meeting ought to be much obliged to Mr. Tuke for his most interesting paper of the subject, and he agreed with him that it would be a very good thing if there could be an exhibition of Japanese prints.

A vote of thanks to the reader of the paper was carried unanimously.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

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THE

NINETY-FIFTH ORDINARY MEETING,

(FIFTH OF THE SIXTEENTH SESSION,)

MARCH 13TH, 1907.

[*Held in the Hall at 20, Hanover Square, London.*]

His Excellency Sir CLAUDE MACDONALD, C.C.M.G., K.C.B., H.B.M. Ambassador at Tōkyō (*Vice-President, J.S.*), took the Chair at 8.30 P.M., when a Paper entitled "EARLY FEUDAL LAW IN JAPAN," by JOHN CAREY HALL, I.S.O., H.B.M. Consul-General, Yokohama, M.J.S., was read.

The Chairman opened the meeting by expressing the pleasure he felt in introducing his old friend, Mr. Carey Hall, whose name was so well known, not only in Japan, but throughout the East. He was quite sure that the Japanese themselves would allow that Mr. Carey Hall's knowledge of their literature and their art was surpassed by very few of their nation.

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EARLY FEUDAL LAW IN JAPAN.[1]

By JOHN CAREY HALL, I.SO., M.J.S. (H.B.M. Consul-General, Yokohama).

IT has sometimes been remarked that Japan is very largely indebted to China for many things—a debt which the Japanese have never been slow to acknowledge. The beginnings of their art, literature, and religion were all derived from China. But one thing that is certainly indigenous to Japan is her feudal development. A good proof of this is to be found in the fact that Japan did not develop feudalism till centuries after China had abolished it. Feudalism was abolished root and branch in China in the 3rd century B.C., whereas Japanese feudalism was not established till the end of the 12th century, some fourteen or fifteen centuries later. The origins of Japanese feudalism, like feudal origins elsewhere, seem wrapped in obscurity, certainly to European scholars, although some Japanese sociological inquirers are now following up the subject with great interest and ability. When discovered they will throw light on the beginnings of both European and Chinese feudalism, for China's history, like that of Japan, is divided into two periods or stages, feudalism and imperialism, but with this difference—that China began with feudalism and developed into imperial centralisation, whereas in the case of Japan the order is reversed. It is, therefore, in the history of the imperial *régime* that the roots of Japanese feudal organisation must be looked for.

Broadly speaking, the preceding imperial *régime* was marked by two characteristics—the feebleness of the sovereign power, and the influence and spread and predominance of

[1] Owing to Mr. Hall having returned to Japan, it has only been possible to give a *résumé* of his paper.—EDITOR J. S. T.

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the Buddhist religion. Partly, indeed, the weakness of the imperial authority was due to the religious devotion of the royal house, but partly, and to a still greater extent, to the ambition of the leading family amongst the court nobility. Another important factor was the lateness of the epoch at which the eastern and northern part of the main island was effectively subjected to the central government. In the early age of Japanese history, it was only the western half of Japan that was fully subject to the imperial power. There were in the 10th and 11th centuries two great military families in Japan who had control of the army, the Taira and the Minamoto. After a time these two families began to contest with the Fujiwara family the authority and influence so long held by the latter at Court, and after a lengthy predominance of the Taira, the Minamoto family overthrew them under the great Japanese warrior and statesman, Yoritomo, who, in the year 1192, was appointed by the Emperor generalissimo of Japan. He handed down his power to his two sons, but when he died the power really devolved into the hands of his widow, a lady of the Hōjo family, one of the most remarkable women in history. The only parallel to her for political ability he conceived to be the present Empress Dowager of China. Yoritomo died in 1199, and for twenty-five years after his decease, through one of the most stormy and troublesome periods of Japanese history, that lady, first with the aid of her father, then with the aid of her brother, succeeded in keeping the unruly barons in order. And when the posterity of Yoritomo died out, the power was so concentrated in the hands of this lady's family, the Hōjo, that, without being entitled to any high office in the State, they held the power of Japan in the hollow of their hands for a full century. The situation was very curious when that lady died. The emperors at Kyōtō could be set up or deposed at the will of this vassal of the Minamoto house, the Hōjo power-holder and the Shōguns at Kamakura being also entirely dependent upon his will.

The third Power-holder of the Hōjo line found it necessary to promulgate a code of laws for the feudal nobility, but he had no legal authority or standing. In 1232, after seven years' experience of government and judicature, he issued a code of

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laws for the barons and their retainers, and this was in many respects a document of unique interest in legal history. It dealt with four different classes of subjects—with religion, government and administration, feudal property, and with the crimes liable to be committed by this lately evolved warrior class over whom he ruled.

Amongst the many interesting points of resemblance between European and Japanese feudalism was this: In Europe the Church was a spiritual power side by side with, and independent of, the temporal power of the Barons, and the same thing was true to a certain extent in Japan. In the flourishing 13th century of European feudalism there was a great revival of the Christian religion, the early part of that century witnessing the rise of the two great monastic orders, the Franciscan and Dominican. Precisely the same thing occurred in Japan, where there was an awakening and revival of the Buddhist religion, and the formation of two new great sects.

The feudal code began with two provisoes about religion. The first was that the shrines of the gods must be kept in repair, and their festivals celebrated as usual. The second dealt with the real religion of Japan at that time—the Buddhist. "Temples and pagodas must be kept in repair, and the Buddhist services diligently celebrated." The laws dealing with politics and administration, and those relating to the fiefs, successions, and tenures, are too numerous and technical to be even glanced at in the course of a single paper, but among the laws dealing with crimes and offences were a number of special interest. If a Samurai committed the crime of forgery, his fief was to be confiscated. "If he has no investiture he shall be sent into exile. If one of the lower classes commits it, he shall be branded in the face by burning." That section was one of two only which took any notice of the existence of the bulk of the nation, the cultivating and working classes. This feudal code was made only for the feudal order, but in two instances the lower orders were brought in to be punished much more severely in proportion to the lowness of their social station.

In those days and in that order the position of women in Japan was as high, if not higher, than it was in contemporary Europe. According to this code, not only could women hold fiefs, but the wife could hold separately from her husband.

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Section 18 read: "Whether, after assigning a fief to a daughter, parents may or may not revoke the assignment on account of a subsequent estrangement. A set of doctrinaires aver that though the two sexes are distinct as regards denomination, there is no difference between them as regards parental benefactions, and that therefore a gift to a daughter is as irrevocable as one to a son. If, however, the deed of assignment to a daughter were held to be irrevocable, she would be able to rely upon it, and would have no scruples about entering upon an undutiful and reprehensible course of conduct. And fathers and mothers, on the other hand, forecasting the probability of conflicts of opinion arising, must beware of assigning a fief to a daughter." The commentator, Takai Ranzan, some six centuries later, added an interesting note, showing the movement which the position of the woman question had made. "At this period," he says, "it was allowed to divide a fief granted by the lord and assign a portion of it to a daughter upon application to the authorities. Hence there were 'female tenures.' And it was not without reason that these were asserted to be irrevocable. . . . Since a daughter's duty was implicit obedience before everything else, if she had the wealth of a tenure of her own her filiality towards her father-in-law and mother-in-law would have been impaired, even the husband would have been contemned, and the path of implicit obedience would have been lost. Hence it was by keeping her without income that her life-long submission was secured." As showing how the present has its roots in the past, one of the laws relating to the fiefs, as regards transfer by sale, might be mentioned. One of the very curious and embarrassing facts connected with the Japanese polity, when the country was thrown open to foreigners less than half a century ago, was the difficulty of ascertaining the value of land at the different ports. The explanation might be found in Law 48 of this code, forbidding the selling and buying of fiefs. "That those who have inherited a private estate from their ancestors may under stress of necessity dispose of it by sale is a settled law. But as for those persons who, either in consequence of accumulated merit or on account of their personal exertions, have been made the recipients of special favours from the Government—for them to buy and sell such at their own pleasure is a proceeding that is by no means blameless.

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Henceforth it certainly must be stopped." A few years after a provision was published by the same authorities, saying that henceforth as a general rule it was absolutely forbidden to the lower orders to sell or to buy land.

After briefly referring to the administrative arrangements, the lecturer proceeded to point out that the authority of the Hōjo power-holders previous to the promulgation of this code must have seemed a little shaky, but from some letters that were written at the time we know that the whole feudal nobility of Japan hailed with delight its promulgation, and in order to make it more binding, it was propounded with great solemnity at Kamakura, the military capital. It wound up with an oath, which was perhaps the most interesting section of the whole law, because it incidentally organised a bench of judges, a High Court of Justice, and thereby established the rule of law instead of the arbitrary will of the executive ruler. Although the Hōjo administrator was the real governor of Japan, still he was not a despot. His power was controlled by his colleagues-in-arms, the leading feudal barons, and this code was signed not only by the titular power-holder, but by twelve of the leading barons, three of whom showed by their signatures that they were devout Buddhists, so that both the spiritual and temporal element were represented in the compilation of this code. The oath was to the effect that questions of right and wrong should be decided at meetings of the Council in accordance with these institutes, and it concluded thus: "Like as if we were one man shall we maintain judgment. If even in a single instance we swerve from them either to bend or to break them, may the gods, Benten, Taihaku, the four great kings of the Sky, and all the gods great and little, celestial and terrestrial, of the sixty odd provinces of Nippon . . . punish us and all our tribe, connections, and belongings with the punishments of the gods and the punishments of the Buddhas."

The CHAIRMAN, after expressing the pleasure with which all had listened to the paper, invited discussion, and called upon a very distinguished visitor, Baron Kikuchi, seventeenth Wrangler at Cambridge, to "heckle" the lecturer.

Baron KIKUCHI explained that he had no special knowledge of the feudal laws of Japan, but he thought it might interest the audience to know that this code was used before 1860 as one of the text-books

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in schools, and was considered one of the best books for educational purposes. These feudal laws, some of which were formulated so long ago as 1230, had had very great influence upon the development of Japan, and formed the basis of the laws of New Japan, so that the paper had an interest for all who would learn the real history of Japan. Mr. Carey Hall had said that Yoritomo was Generalissimo at the period of which he was speaking, but he (Baron Kikuchi) believed that it was in the capacity of Police-General of the whole country that Yoritomo had obtained his power in Japan.

Mr. N. OKOSHI (*Member of Council, J.S.*) endorsed most cordially Sir Claude Macdonald's high opinion of Mr. Carey Hall's erudition, and added that under the feudal law Japan was divided into one hundred small states under a lord, who was governor of his own province. People from neighbouring provinces were excluded from entering other states than their own, so that not only were foreigners excluded from Japan, but each state was quite exclusive. He contrasted this condition of things with the present day, when the country was open to foreigners, and when Great Britain and the United States had even been invited to their land.

Mr. DALHOUSIE YOUNG, M.J.S., commented on Mr. Hall's statement that the Shingon sect had most adherents amongst the Samurai. If this was so, how did it come about that the Zen sect had such power?

Mr. CAREY HALL said he did not think that at any time the Shingon sect was the most powerful. It certainly had not the vogue at the time of the code as the Zen. The Shingon sect was characterised by the simplicity of its religious formula. Naturally a religion that saved the trouble of going through the eight-fold path of Buddhism was the more popular with the Samurai, who had not time to study. Adhesion to either sect was a short cut to salvation, but the Shingon was the more orthodox, while the position of the Zen sect was exactly similar to that of Protestants in Catholic Europe. The doctrine of both was salvation by faith, "Believe on the Lord Buddha, and thou shalt be saved."

Mr. VICTOR DICKINS, C.B., M.J.S., said it devolved upon him to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Hall for his excellent paper, but before doing so, he would like to say that he and the lecturer had been fellow-workers in Japan and in things Japanese, and though he confessed to knowing very little of the laws of that country, yet it seemed to him that there were a few points upon which Mr. Hall might have dwelt upon more fully. One was that the hostility between the west and the east of Japan was not accentuated as perhaps it should have been by a student of history, and therefore he and others were left

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in doubt as to how far the authority of the Shōgun extended in the west and east of Japan. Eastern history had not the data of Western history, and he personally was rather a sceptic with regard to the history of the middle ages of Japan. There had been a feudal system in Japan, as in most other countries, it being nothing more than a system for the payment of rents by military service as in India, the Roman Empire, our own country, etc.; but it was a much more definite system in the West than in Japan, depending politically upon a hierarchy of barons who exercised the power vested in an emperor or king. Every man accused of a crime was judged by his peers; he could not remember, from his Japanese reading, anything indicating such a state of things in Japan, and nothing in Japanese history similar to the thorough-going feudalism of Western countries.

With regard to women, it should be remembered that in this country in the feudal ages women held fiefs, and were summoned to parliament, and some were actually known to attend, but as a rule they were represented by men. It was no easy matter to investigate matters of the kind of which Mr. Hall had spoken, the difficulties in the way of the investigation of manuscripts, the technicalities of the terms, and the unfamiliarity of the atmosphere, all formed almost insuperable obstacles, but Mr. Hall had managed to surmount these difficulties in a very able manner, and had enlightened many dark spots in his own mind.

The Rev. Mr. ROSENFELD (*Visitor*) inquired whether the feudal system was in any way connected with the ancestor worship which still obtains in Japan.

Mr. CAREY HALL, in replying to Mr. Victor Dickins, said that the great revolution which upset feudalism may be said to have been a test between eastern and western Japan. The descendants of those who overthrew the Shōgunate still lived in western Japan. The antagonism between the east and west was a later development.

In reply to the Rev. Mr. Rosenfeld, he said there was no special relationship between ancestor worship and feudalism; the former related entirely to the religious side of life. Buddhism never developed such a hierarchy as did the Catholic religion in Europe, and Buddhism in Japan never developed such a hierarchy as had other Buddha-worshipping countries, such as Thibet. Ancestor worship had come in later than Buddhism. The influence of China on the later development of Japan was tremendous, and deservedly so. The Japanese are two and a half centuries in advance of Europe in the study of Chinese philosophy and religion. One of the things Europe has yet to learn is the immense amount of political wisdom in Chinese literature. Buddhism made its way merely by shutting its eyes and assimilating

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as much as it could. Ancestor worship was not an original part of Shintō.

The vote of thanks to the lecturer was carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks was also proposed to the Chairman by Lieut.-Colonel C. B. Thornton, who spoke of the sacrifice it must be to Sir Claude Macdonald in coming that evening, seeing that he was home on a well-earned holiday. Mr. S. Takaishi seconded the vote, which was carried unanimously.

The proceedings then terminated.

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THE

NINETY-SIXTH ORDINARY MEETING,

(SIXTH OF THE SIXTEENTH SESSION,)

APRIL 10TH, 1907.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, London.*]

LORD REDESDALE, G.C.V.O., K.C.B. (*Vice-President J.S.*), took the Chair at 8.30 P.M., when a Paper, entitled "FEMALE EDUCATION IN JAPAN," was read by Baron DAIROKU KIKUCHI, Member of the House of Peers, Tōkyō, *Hon. M.J.S.*

The CHAIRMAN said it was his privilege that evening to introduce to the Meeting, Baron Kikuchi, former Minister of Education in Japan, and formerly also President of the University of Tōkyō. The Baron was about to address them upon the subject of female education in Japan, and the record of his past was an assurance that what he said came from the first living authority upon the subject.

The CHAIRMAN then asked the Baron to read his Paper.

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FEMALE EDUCATION IN JAPAN.

By BARON KIKUCHI, *Hon. M.J.S.*, formerly Minister of Education, and President of the University of Tōkyō.

IT is the principle of our education that its object is to fit a man to become a good and useful member of society, and a loyal and faithful subject of the Emperor. Hence we regard education as an affair of the State, to be regulated, controlled, and supervised by the State, and not to be left to individual will or private enterprise. Thus, in elementary education, the State imposes upon parents or guardians the obligation of sending their children to school for four years, namely, from six to ten years of age, and upon the local authorities (the Shi, Chō, and Son) that of establishing and maintaining elementary schools of a grade sufficient to accommodate all children of the above age within their bounds; no fees may be charged for this education, although at present there are a few exceptions to this rule. Beyond this, the education is voluntary, and there is no obligation on the Shi, Chō, and Son to establish higher schools, but, as a matter of fact, such of them as can afford to do so establish and maintain higher elementary schools having a course of either two, three, or four years. After passing through two years of higher elementary education, boys and girls may, if their parents wish them to receive higher education, pass on to secondary schools. Thus you will see that our division of elementary and secondary education is entirely a matter of grade, and not social; every child has to go to an elementary school, irrespective of the social position of his parents, and it cannot enter a secondary school until it has finished two years of the higher elementary school course and is over twelve years of age.

During the elementary school course, boys and girls are taught together in the same schools and even in the same classes; but even at this early stage we make distinctions

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between them in some respects. For instance, sewing may be taught to girls in the "ordinary" or lower elementary course, while it is compulsory in the higher elementary, and military drill is taught to boys above twelve years of age. In the regulations for the teaching in elementary schools, it is stated that, "having regard to the different characteristics of the sexes and to the difference in their future life, instruction must be given proper to each;" it is quite in accordance with this principle of distinction between sexes that in ordinary elementary schools, when the number of girls in any one year is sufficient to form a class, they shall be enrolled in one class separate from the boys; in the first and second years, however, this rule may be disregarded and boys and girls put together in the same classes. In higher elementary schools, when the number of girls in the whole school is sufficient to form a class, a separate class is to be formed of girls only.

In secondary education, boys and girls are educated quite separately in different schools; the boys in "Middle Schools," and girls in "Girls' High Schools." Each prefecture (prefectures are large divisions into which the country is divided for the purpose of local administration, being forty-seven in all) is obliged to maintain a certain number of the middle schools and girls' high schools. Both in the elementary and higher education there are regulations, more or less detailed according to the nature of the school, with regard to the subjects to be taught and standard to be maintained in each subject, and so on.

I have mentioned incidentally the principle of distinction of sexes in education. I do not remember anything in the Imperial ordinances relating to the educational system, where anything is stated about the difference in the future position of boys and girls, but it is implicitly assumed everywhere; and in the regulations for teaching in the elementary schools, it is explicitly stated, as I have quoted just now. But what is the position in future life of the girls? That also is nowhere stated; why? Because there is no necessity for so doing, for every one assumes that girls are going to marry, to become wives and mothers. In the text-book for moral instruction, compiled by the department of education and used in all the elementary schools in the Empire, one of the last lessons in the ordinary elementary school course is on "the duties of a man and the

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duties of a woman." In this lesson the teacher explains the difference between them somewhat in the following fashion: "Children, your fathers are engaged each in some pursuit, and some are no doubt besides engaged in the affairs of the Shi, Chō, or Son (*i.e.* of the local community); your mothers are engaged in tending your grandfathers and grandmothers, in bringing up children, in looking after the food and clothing of the household. So the duties of father and mother are different. After you are grown up, man must become master of a house and pursue his calling, woman becomes a wife and takes charge of the house, so husband and wife must help each other and make a home: the occupations of the two are thus naturally different. The moral precepts must of course be observed by both men and women, but men should be specially active, women specially gentle; neither must neglect good manners. So also it is important that both men and women should cultivate knowledge, but each such as will enable them to fulfil the duties of their own proper sphere. Man is stronger than woman, but it is a very bad thing if a man, relying on his strength, should not pay proper regard to woman; it is a great mistake that some people make who suppose that woman is inferior to man; they are both lords of creation, and there is no reason whatever to look down upon woman. Only the duties of a man and a woman are not the same, and each must not forget his or her own proper sphere." Of course, this is a very bold outline, but it expresses pretty correctly the sentiments of the Japanese people in general on the matter. In 1902, at the annual meeting of the Ladies' Educational Association, the minister of education stated that the object of female education was to make good wives and wise mothers: we may, in fact, say that this is the view of the vast majority of Japanese men and women at the present day; what the future may bring about—for the social conditions are continually changing in Japan—I cannot say.

In this connection, as I have sometimes been asked what was the proportion of men and women in the population of Japan, it will not be out of place to give some statistics bearing on the question. According to the latest Statistical Report, out of the total population of 46,732,000 there were 23,601,000 men and 23,131,000 women, giving 102·03 men to 100 women. Taking

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those of the ages between 25 and 50, on December 31st, 1903, there were 6,708,000 married and 2,866,000 unmarried men; 6,456,000 married and 2,714,000 unmarried women; the table does not give the number of widows and widowers, but I have taken the above age limits, as it was probable that those who marry would marry below 50, and there would not be very many widowers and widows at those ages. Thus the above figures give us less than 30 per cent. of men and women without consorts, the proportion of men to women being about 104·4 to 100. These figures are very rough, as we have not as yet taken our census in the proper way, but it is sufficient to show that more than two-thirds, perhaps as much as three-fourths, of the whole population marry.

Our female education, then, is based upon the assumption that women marry, and that its object is to fit the girls to become "good wives and wise mothers."

The question naturally arises, What constitutes good wives and wise mothers? and to answer this question, we must say a few words about the position of women in society and of the wife and mother in a household.

First, as to the legal status and social condition of women. In the earliest period of our history women seem to have occupied a higher position than in later times. The first Imperial Ancestor and the central figure of national worship is a goddess, Amaterasu-O-Mi-Kami, or the Great Goddess of the Celestial Light, whose temple at Isé is the great national shrine, to which the Emperor either goes in person or sends a special messenger on occasions of great national importance, and to which tens of thousands of pilgrims flock every year from all parts of the country. There were several Empresses who ruled the Empire; the Empress Dowager Jingo Kogo is said to have invaded Corea at the head of her army and completely subjugated it. Two of the most celebrated writers in pure classic Japanese were both of them women, ladies of the Imperial court of the Heian era. The introduction of the Chinese civilisation with the Confucian system of moral philosophy and of Buddhism, and later on the establishment of feudalism, were prejudicial to this high position of women. Chinese philosophers seem not to have had much respect for women; Buddhism regards women as sinful creatures, a temptation

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and snare, an obstacle to peace and holiness. In our feudal system, in the code of the Bushidō, there was no such reverence for women as in the Western chivalry; as Professor Chamberlain has remarked, "a Japanese knight performed his valiant deeds for no such fanciful rewards as a lady's smile. He performed them out of loyalty to his lord, or filial piety towards the memory of his father," I should suggest, "his fathers." Indeed, this seems one of the great differences between the Bushido and the code of an English gentleman, which are very much alike in many respects. A Bushi looked upon woman as a gentle and weak creature that must be protected, but there is no such reverence for woman as in the code of the occidental knights—reverence, that is, for woman as woman—for the duty of filial piety was just as great towards mother as towards father, and as much respect was paid to the wife of the lord as to the lord, except in so far as the latter was the head of the house, and had thereby a special title to obedience.

This brings us to the question of "the house." The "house" is an ancient institution, dating back to the very beginning of our nation; the house, not the individual, has been the basis of our society. In the days before the new civil code, the house was a corporate body; only the house-head could in general hold a public office or own private property, all the members of the house being dependent on him. A house-member could not hold a separate property of his own; all he acquired, he acquired for the house; all he possessed or enjoyed, he did by the permission of the head, and not as of a right. Even the house-head was important in that he represented the house, and not as an individual. There is a story told of the consort of the fifth of the Tokugawa Shōguns, that she assassinated her husband and then of course killed herself, because there was no other means of preventing his doing an act which would have been highly injurious to the house of Tokugawa. This tale has been proved to be untrue by the modern historical criticism, but that such a tale should have been told, not in the condemnation of the act, but rather in praise of the wife, who was willing to sacrifice not only herself but her husband and lord for the sake of the house, shows what place the house had in the estimation of the Japanese. There are many instances told in which the house-head has been forced to resign for the good of the house. Nor

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was this confined to noble houses, it was the same for the humble as for the mighty; in the houses of merchants, who in feudal days were officially considered to be of the lowest profession, it was the same—individuals had to sacrifice themselves, or were made to do so, for the sake of the house. Allow me to remark here that this spirit of sacrifice is the keynote of our moral teaching: an individual must be ready to sacrifice himself for the sake of the house, and himself and the house for the sake of the lord, or, at the present day, for the Emperor and the State. That is the ideal to which we still try to educate our boys and girls.

Under the feudal system, it was natural that a woman could not become a house-head, for she could not discharge the duties required of such, the first of which was military service. The rule of three obediences for women—obedience while at home to her father, when married to her husband, when widowed to her son—which is often quoted as showing the low position of women in Japan, was a necessary consequence of this disability. Men as well as women were subject to the authority of the house-head, but whereas a man could become a house-head, a woman could not, and therefore she had to obey during her whole life; obedience when widowed to her son was nothing strange, considering that when a man, a head of a house, resigned his headship in order to escape its onerous duties, and became an *inkyo*, as happened very frequently, he became legally subject to his son who succeeded him in house-headship. As a matter of fact, woman was not at all in a servile condition, but received all due respect as wife and mother.

With the introduction of occidental civilisation came a gradual change; the new civil code has made a great change in the legal status of women. The house, although still a unit of society, has lost some of its importance, and the authorities of a house-head have been circumscribed, and parental authorities substituted in its place. A woman can now become the head of a house, in which case all house-members, whether male or female—including her husband if she is married—come under her authority and are legally dependent upon her; she may exercise parental authority over her children, if her husband be dead. She may adopt children, if she be single or a widow; when married, her consent is necessary for the adoption of a child; she may make

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any contract or acquire or dispose of property in her own name; in short, she may be a party to any legal transaction, as long as she remains single. When she is married, her state of coverture obliges her to obtain the consent of her husband in doing certain acts which may involve grave consequences upon their conjugal life, such as contracting debts, acquisition or loss of immovables or valuable movables, instituting legal proceedings, accepting or renouncing succession, entering into contract of personal service, etc. Even in regard to these, when she does these acts without her husband's consent, they are not void, but voidable, that is, liable to be annulled by her husband. With her husband's consent, she may engage in business, in which case she is considered as an independent person with respect to that business. She may also do these acts without her husband's consent, not only when circumstances are such that she cannot obtain it, but also when the interests of the husband and wife conflict. With regard to property, persons about to marry are allowed to make any contract with regard to their conjugal property, and this will be binding upon them and can be set up against a third person, if registered before the registration of marriage; if no such contract be made between them, the fundamental rule is that the property belonging to wife, or husband who enters his wife's house, at the time of marriage or subsequently acquired in her or his own name shall be her or his separate property. It will be seen from the above that where there is discrimination against a wife, it is rather a discrimination against a house-member as against the house-head.

With regard to marriage and sexual relations, also, great chances for the better have come about. The Japanese in the historical age never practised polygamy. It is true that the introduction of mistresses into the family has been an institution, especially among the upper and richer classes; the teachings of Confucius were not unfavourable to it, and the importance attached to the continuity of the house was given as a reason for this practice in many cases. Both Shintoism and Confucianism insisted upon the importance of the continuity of the house and of the ancestral worship. "There are," says Mencius, "three things which are unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them." The other two, by the way, are the encouragement of parents in unrighteousness, and failure to succour them in

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poverty and old age. To be without posterity was the greatest offence, for it was against the whole line of ancestors, who were thereby left without any one to perform the family worship. However, the practice was not by any means confined to these cases, which excused it on this ground; and there can be no doubt that it occasioned much unhappiness in the family. Hence its practice was not very widespread, even among the higher and richer classes. Among the middle and lower classes it was very rare, indeed, I may remark that among the lower classes there was a remarkable equality between husband and wife; for instance, while the wife of a samurai never addressed her husband by name, it was usual for the wife of an artisan to do so. At present social opinion is entirely against the practice, and new ideas of morality with regard to sexual relations are springing up with the higher education of women.

Marriage itself was regarded as one of the most important acts, not to be lightly entered into, for it was admission of an important member into the house. Formerly—I speak of the Tokugawa period—among the samurais, it was only the eldest son, who was the presumptive heir to the house-headship, or the house-head himself, who could marry; younger sons could not marry. The lot of younger sons in those days was not an enviable one; they were called *heyazumi*, or dwellers in apartments, for they did not own a house. More vulgarly, they were called *hiyameshi-kui*, or eaters of cold boiled rice, for they were supposed not to be allowed to eat boiled rice while warm with the elders of the house, but after it had been served to the parents and the eldest son, and left over for the next meal and grown cold. Hence these younger sons often applied themselves more diligently than the eldest sons to the study of the Chinese literature, which constituted the whole of the literary culture in those days, or to the practice of feats of arms, such as fencing, spears, archery, riding, etc., so that they might, in virtue of their excellence in them, be adopted into a family without a son, and thereby secure a prospect of becoming a house-head. This was very often the case; sometimes, but very rarely, if they proved themselves of extraordinary merit, their lord made an independent house for them. Sometimes they ran away from home, and in such cases often opened a *terakoya*, or a private school, in villages.

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Marriage was an affair of the house, and not of individuals. A woman in marrying entered her husband's house as a house member, and became subject to the authority of the head of the house as she had been subject at home to the authority of the head of her own house. In the present day, although there have been changes both in the limit of the house-head's authority and in the extent of married woman's rights, as I have explained above, the marrying into the house of her husband is still true—the marriage is not legally valid until her name has been entered in her husband's house registry by the district registrar, although the marriage ceremony is quite a separate affair from this registering. In former days, the bride was received into her husband's house and lived with the elders, receiving from her mother-in-law instructions in household economy and the *kafū*, or manners and customs to be observed by the house, and attending to household matters under her direction. And so she remained, till most likely the old couple retired from the house-headship, when it became her duty to take supreme control of the household duties, to tend the old parents, to look after children, and so on. With the richer merchant and farmer classes, it was about the same; among the artisans and lower class generally, the new couple very often started a new hearth after their marriage, the question of the house being not considered of so great importance among them.

Social conditions do not change so rapidly as legal enactments or political organisations, especially in what concerns women. As one instance, I may mention the way of wearing their hair: while men have now entirely discarded the old style of wearing a top-knot on their head, so that even in the most secluded parts of the country you would scarcely meet with one, you will find many ladies, and more especially women of the middle and lower classes, in the very midst of Tōkyō still wearing their hair in the old style. And so with the dress, although the occidental style of dress is *de rigeur* at the court, elsewhere very few ladies wear occidental dress. So the inner family life has not changed so very much, although the advance in education of women, which has made enormous strides within the last ten or fifteen years, has brought about a gradual change in many respects. The custom of a separate domicile for young couples is not even

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now very prevalent. Nowadays younger sons need not remain *hiyameshi-kui* until they are adopted into another family; they may marry, with the consent of the house-head and of the parents, if they can support themselves; they may establish a new house and become a house-head. Yet it is customary for at least one of the young couples, usually the eldest, to remain with the old couple. The duties of a wife also remains very much the same. Man goes outside to work to earn his living, to fulfil his duty to the State; it is the wife's part to help him, for the common interest of the house, and as a share of her duty to the State, by sympathy and encouragement, by relieving him of anxieties at home, managing household affairs, looking after the house expenses, and, above all, tending the old people and bringing up their children in fit and proper manner. She is the centre of household activity; she attends to the feeding and clothing of the whole household. In the morning, she sees her children off properly provided and prepared for school; in the afternoon, they come back to her with their joys and troubles, their successes and failures. This is true not only of the lower and middle classes, but of the upper classes; where servants are kept, she has to superintend their work and see that it is properly done.

I am very diffident of making any comparison between our households and occidental ones, for I have met with many instances where a person asserting intimate knowledge at first hand of our family relations has been entirely wrong; but, as far as I can judge, our children are much more with their parents, especially with their mothers, than they seem to be with you—perhaps it is because we have no good nurses or governesses to whom we can trust them. So also in schooling, we do not care to send away our children to boarding-schools, if possible, especially before they are fourteen or fifteen. Our wives, indeed, sacrifice a great deal for the sake of their children, and also a great deal in taking care of their elders; it is considered a part of the duty they owe to their elders, to their house, and to the State, and nobly do they fulfil these duties. As I have remarked already, in our moral education, we teach a great deal about the duties of various kinds, but we talk very little of the rights. As to our wives, it is comforting to think that they have their reward in the love and reverence that their children

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bear them, and in the tender and loving care that is taken of them in their old age.

Yet, slowly but surely, social conditions are changing with the introduction of occidental civilisation; our idea of woman's sphere is widening, the spirit, I trust, remains the same, but the form must change. Our ideal of woman's avocation remains the same, and the essentials of good wife and wise mother cannot change, but outward manifestation will change. At times like the present in Japan, when, on many points, old and new ideas are clashing, where we have still mothers imbued with the thoughts and sentiments of the old feudal days, and daughters often with advanced modern ideas derived from the West, there is a very great danger for society; the young, impatient of what they consider unreasonable restraints imposed upon them by the old, are apt to break away from all control, and work great harm, not only to themselves, but to society. The only means to prevent such unhappy catastrophes is to give such an education to the rising generation of women as will enable them to advance in line with men under the new condition of things, and at the same time to appreciate all that is valuable and worthy to be preserved in the old ideals. Such had been the object kept in view in framing the present system of female education. In a word, to fit girls to be good wives and wise mothers under the new conditions, proper helpmates, and worthy companions of the men of Meiji, noble mothers to bring up future generations of Japanese.

After a series of photographs and pictures illustrating the subject of the lecture had been shown and explained by the lecturer, the CHAIRMAN said he was sure all would agree with him that they had listened to a most interesting lecture. As regarded one branch of the subject which His Lordship had treated with so much ability that evening, he thought that part of his lecture dealing with the domestic relations in Japan—the relationship of what he called "the house" (probably because of the old Chinese character which was used to designate it), but which we should rather call "the family," would when printed remain a classic. It was a subject which had been misunderstood and misrepresented by almost every one of the innumerable tourists who had thought it their duty to write books. There was no excuse, after what had been told them that evening, for any more misrepresentations regarding female life in Japan, for they had heard what it really was from the highest possible authority.

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As regarded female education, he thought there was nothing which struck those who were engaged on the Commission to Japan last year, so much as the enormous strides made in education in Japan generally, and especially that part of it with which Baron Kikuchi had dealt that evening—namely, female education. They saw girls come in from the country drilled like a regiment of guards, and imbued evidently with the most accurate knowledge of what the ceremony was in which they were taking part, namely, the reception of Prince Arthur of Connaught. As he was driving away from Kyōtō, through perfect avenues of these children, with His Excellency the Governor of the City, the latter said to him, "You are not to suppose that this enthusiasm, this cheering, this clapping, and this evident joyous welcoming which is being accorded to your prince is an ignorant welcome, for every one of these children has been for months past taught what the meaning, the inner significance, of this Commission of yours to Japan is, and they have been told that it is an earnest of the great friendship that exists between our two countries, and that the King of England has sent his own nephew over here to do honour to our sovereign, and that is why our children are to do honour to him."

Another thing was also very prominent, and that was the way in which classes were mixed in those schools. It seemed to him as though every class were represented, from the poorest to the richest, and even those of aristocratic rank, and the proof he had of it was in something that the Governor of Kyōtō had said in passing through a certain street. Pointing to a school, he said, "There is the school where my girl goes, but I do not see her anywhere about."

English people might well borrow the idea from their allies the Japanese in teaching a little patriotism and a little real politics in their schools. Patriotism was a matter inculcated from the very earliest years in every child's heart and breast, and the symbol was the flag. He thought that some English children, if asked to give a history of the Union Jack, would be very much puzzled, but in Japan there was not a single child who could not give a history of their own flag and an idea of the Union Jack too. He thought English people might take this to heart, and the movement now on foot for flying the Union Jack over the schools was a very good one, and herein England would be imitating her allies.

He concluded by saying he was perfectly certain that if anybody present wished to ask any questions, Baron Kikuchi would be very glad to answer them. For his own part, his only desire was to express his thanks for the extremely interesting and instructive lecture which Baron Kikuchi had been good enough to read that evening.

Mr. Carey Hall, M.J.S., said he was sure he was voicing the opinion

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of the whole meeting in proposing a hearty vote of thanks for the very interesting lecture given that evening by Baron Kikuchi, upon a subject of which the Baron was necessarily the first authority.

He thought that one could but plead guilty to his indictment as regarded Chinese philosophy. A high opinion of women was not among the very many virtues of China, but Japan had entirely abandoned the leadership of China in that respect, and he thought very properly. What was not quite so clear was to what source she was to look for guidance in the question of women's education. If she looked to England for enlightenment, she would find amongst philosophic minds a remarkable difference of opinion. He judged, from the suffragette movement, that the predominant influence had been John Stuart Mill, who some years ago wrote a very one-sided book on the "subjection of women," in which he argued the point of the disability of women competing with men in political work. The other great factor was the school of Comte, which maintained that the sexes were not equal, and that though man, as regarded his brain and intellect, was superior to woman, on the other hand, as regarded the moral aspect of human nature—the affections and feelings—woman was unquestionably the superior of man. Comte held that between the affections and intellect the affections should predominate, and that intellect should be the servant of the heart, an idea which he himself held. If John Stuart's Mill's book had been printed only in Japanese, it would not have had the pernicious influence it had had on English thought.

There was, he thought, an omission in Baron Kikuchi's paper. He certainly considered he ought to have included the influence of the Christian missionary. No impartial man would deny the good work done by the missionary in Japan generally, and especially in the education of women. There were even girls' schools founded by them. When the foreign powers first made their treaties with Japan, they did not assume the *rôle* of patronising Christian converts. Christianity had been left to make its way on its own merits.

At that late hour he would say no more, with the exception that he proposed a vote of thanks to Baron Kikuchi for his interesting paper.

Mr. Wilson Crewdson, *Hon. Sec. J.S.*, said he had much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks.

Lord Redesdale said he was sure that all would carry this by acclamation.

Baron Kikuchi said he thanked them all very much for their vote of thanks and the kind attention with which they had listened to his lecture.

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THE

NINETY-SEVENTH ORDINARY MEETING,

(SEVENTH OF THE SIXTEENTH SESSION,)

MAY 8TH, 1907.

[*Held in the Hall at* 20, *Hanover Square, London.*]

Mr. ARTHUR DIÓSY, F.R.G.S. (*Vice-President, J.S.*), took the Chair at 8.30 P.M., when a Paper, entitled "THE DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR SERVICE OF JAPAN," was read by Count HIROKICHI MUTSU, C.V.O., Secretary Imperial Japanese Embassy (*Member of Council, J.S.*).

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the meeting, said that he need hardly remark what pleasure he felt in being once more in the Chair after so long an interval, and it made his pleasure doubly great to think that his first duty was the very agreeable one of introducing the lecturer of the evening. Introducing was, however, not quite the right word to use, as Count Mutsu did not need any introduction to the members of the Japan Society. He had been a member of the Society from its earliest days, and the Society was greatly indebted to him for the support he gave it in the days of its infancy.

He was sure all would join with him in congratulating Count Mutsu on the honour recently bestowed upon him by H.M. the King.

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THE DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR SERVICE OF JAPAN.

By COUNT HIROKICHI MUTSU, *Member of Council, J.S.*

IN tracing the so-called "long stride" made by Japan in recent years, publicity has been given by writers both at home and abroad to the development of various organizations in our country. The arts of war, especially, having played so conspicuous and successful a part in the modern history of Japan, the military and naval services of our nation have rendered themselves fit subjects for study and review by numerous authors. At the same time there are other institutions in Japan whose developments have been equally interesting, but of which comparatively little is known to outsiders.

In availing myself of the present opportunity afforded by the invitation of the Japan Society, I have therefore selected as the subject of my paper a theme, not so much on account of its affinity with my own profession, but because of the fact that it has not been discussed too frequently by others. Perhaps the service in question has not been considered as deserving such an attention. Certainly it lacks the glamour and the attractive qualities possessed by some other professions. But I venture to hope that the subject may be considered as one which justifies me in claiming the indulgence of such close students of "things Japanese" as those who honour me with their presence here this evening.

There is no necessity to go back to times of great antiquity in dealing with the subject before me, but a few remarks on the development of our intercourse with foreign nations may not be out of place. It is true that the Court of Japan was entertaining a Korean Envoy even prior to the Christian Era, and that a few centuries later an ambassador of Japan found his way to the

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Court of China, the bearer of an imperial letter commencing in such flowery and at the same time diplomatic terms as "From the Sovereign of the Sun-Rise Nation to the Emperor of the Sun-Set Power." But occupying, as Japan does, an isolated position in the midst of the Far Eastern Seas, and the means of marine communication being in a primitive condition, our relations with foreign lands in ancient times were necessarily on a very limited scale, and consisted merely of solitary instances of intercourse with such neighbouring countries of the Asiatic continent as Korea and China. Nevertheless, sometimes far-reaching effects were accomplished. On occasions, it seems to have assumed a highly drastic and aggressive character, as, for example, the invasion of Korea, undertaken by the warlike and intrepid Empress Jingo in the third century; whilst at other times the results have been of a civilising and enlightening nature, as may be instanced by the introduction of Chinese philosophy, as well as her religion.

In the early part of the eighth century, during the reign of the Emperor Mommu, a great code of laws under the title of Tai-ho-rei was promulgated. In one of the departments of the Government recorded in this ancient institute there existed a bureau, under the name of the Gen-ban-rio, with the function of superintending Buddhist priests, as well as the religious affairs of the Court, and at the same time giving attention to all matters relating to the reception of envoys from foreign lands. Tsukushi, in the south of Japan, which practically was the only door through which the foreigners entered Japan, also had an office, one of whose duties it was to see that proper treatment was accorded to the strangers who were the guests of the nation, as well as to those who wished to become naturalized subjects of the empire. This may be said to have been the initial step towards establishing an institution with any resemblance to the modern Diplomatic Service. Towards the end of the tenth century Tsukushi also had a newly established office for dealing with Chinese affairs, an outcome of commercial development between Japan and her neighbouring empire.

The few centuries that followed witnessed many momentous events in the history of Japan, a bellicose period in which one civil war succeeded another, with the result that the reins of government remained for the time in the hands of the most

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successful party in these conflicts. Abroad our communications with China and Korea progressed, but with frequent interruptions. The nation which was busy with internal turmoils was also not free from serious foreign complications. In the thirteenth century the aggressive and warlike operations of the great Mongol king, Kublai Khan, having proved so successful on the continent of Asia, he sought also to add to his glory by the subjugation of our Island Empire. The crafty diplomacy which he first employed having failed to attain its end, he did not hesitate to send to Japan great forces of invasion. Although his repeated expeditions were not crowned with any success, and in each instance we were able to repulse from our shores this mighty and all-powerful foe, it was not accomplished without great difficulties as well as sacrifices.

While the history of these centuries abounds with thrilling occurrences, both domestic as well as international, we find little record of the development of the channel through which our foreign affairs were conducted in those days. This may partly be due to the fact that our foreign intercourse having originated in peaceful and friendly relations with our neighbouring countries, its path of progress was greatly checked by the martial spirit of the times. In the sixteenth century, however, during the administration of the Shōgun Ashi-Kaga, a superintendent of foreign ships was appointed, whose duty consisted in the supervision of our communication and trade with foreign countries. It was towards the end of this century that Toyotomi Hideyoshi, whose remarkable personality stands out so forcibly from the pages of our mediæval history, having assumed supreme power over the nation, planned an extensive campaign against Korea. His bellicose ambitions were by no means limited to the peninsular kingdom. He did not, however, live to see the ultimate result of this great expedition; for he died while his generals were in occupation of Korean territories, and on his death the invading army was recalled. Had his life been spared a few years longer, Europe might have found the Far Eastern question in the twentieth century wearing a somewhat different aspect!

During the same century not only our trade with China and Korea gradually increased, but also our commerce with certain European nations was initiated. About the middle of that

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century a Portuguese vessel was driven under stress of weather to our shores, and the traders who so unexpectedly arrived in our country did not fail to avail themselves of this opportunity in seeking to enter into commercial relations with "Chipangu," whose attractions had been so seductively described in Europe by Marco Polo. They were most cordially received by the feudal lords, as well as by the central Government of Japan, every assistance and encouragement being accorded them to facilitate their trade with our people.

The Spaniards soon followed in the footsteps of the Portuguese, the Dutch being not long behindhand; thus was created a new era in the foreign commerce of our nation. Mention should also be made of the presence amongst us at that time of a British subject, the famous Will Adams, who arrived in the year 1600 in one of the first Dutch trading-vessels, and who had a most unique and romantic career in Japan. I think that the Anglo-Japanese alliance must have been foreshadowed, even from these remote times; for before his arrival no foreigner seems to have aroused so much friendly sentiment amongst our people. The straightforwardness of his character, the true British spirit, as well as a knowledge of Western science, of which he was in possession to some extent, did not fail to attract the attention of Iyeyasu Tokugawa, keen observer as he was, and the sailor visitor from the far-off land soon won the special favour and entire confidence of the greatest of the Shōguns. He was royally treated, and was made to stay at the Court of Yedo, where, in his capacity of adviser on foreign matters, he rendered valuable services, not only to the Shōgun and his Government, but also to the early visitors from Europe.

Unfortunately, however, the merchants of the above-mentioned Catholic nations of Europe brought their religion to Japan as well as their merchandise. So long as they limited their sphere of action to commercial transactions, the Oda, Toyotomi, as well as the earlier Tokugawa Shōguns, all seem to have been very cordially disposed towards them, appreciating, as they all did, the benefits which would accrue to the nation by cultivating trade with foreign countries. The religion, too, fell on very receptive soil, with the result that it soon reaped thousands of converts, not only among the masses, but also amongst the nobility. The Lords of Arima and Omura were not only

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converted to the alien creed, but in 1582 despatched their envoys to Rome to pay homage to Pope Gregory XIII.—the first mission of the kind sent by Japan to Europe. The indiscreet and aggressive actions of the religionists, however, did not enlist the sympathy and good will of the rulers of the land, and when the propaganda assumed such proportions as to endanger the peace and even the integrity, as the rulers thought, of the empire itself, all the Shōguns adhered to the policy of excluding the new religion, not hesitating to employ the severest measures in so doing.

The ultimate result was the Order of 1624, and the still more drastic Edict of Expulsion of 1638, both issued by Iyemitsu, grandson of the founder of the Tokugawa Shōgunate. By the former edict, all parts of Japan, except Nagasaki, were closed to foreign ships, on the penalty of being repulsed by force, "without second thought," and an office was established in Nagasaki in 1638 for the purpose of supervising the trade with foreign nations. The latter edict, which was in consequence of the Amakusa rebellion of 1637, prohibited our people from leaving the country on penalty of death, and expelled all the Portuguese from the land. For several years the policy of non-intercourse with foreign countries was maintained.

I have thus far endeavoured to point out a few of the more important events in the development of our foreign intercourse from ancient times up to the latter part of the Tokugawa *régime* However, until the middle of the nineteenth century such intercourse was of so limited and primitive a character that there was no *raison d'être* for a system such as the Diplomatic Service of to-day.

The latter part of the Tokugawa Government, however, witnessed an important change in this respect, many momentous events having occurred about this time, with the result of modifying, in a radical manner, the foreign relations of our country. In fact, the serious situation created by these international events is regarded as having been the principal cause which defeated the Government of the Shōguns, and culminated in the great Restoration of 1868. Commodore Perry, that never-to-be-forgotten sailor diplomat of the United States, with his "black ships," came in 1853 to demand admittance at our nation's door, with the result that during the following year the

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THE FIRST JAPANESE DIPLOMATIC MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1860.
The principal envoy, Shinmi, is seated in the centre, with his associate Muragaki on his right.

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first treaty was signed with the United States, under which the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate were opened to American ships. Russia, Holland, and Great Britain soon sought for and succeeded in obtaining similar concessions.

That the Government of Yedo at this time were convinced of the necessity of obtaining reliable information concerning Occidental nations is shown by the establishment in 1856 of a bureau for the investigation of foreign books. Here the scholars of Dutch, the only Western language studied at that time, were in attendance, and many a Dutch work was translated into our tongue, in order to furnish the Government with the coveted knowledge. In 1857, the American Representative, Townsend Harris, was received in audience by the Shōgun, and presented his credentials in person; this diplomatic incident marking an epoch which created a deep impression upon the minds of contemporaries.

During this period the foreign affairs of the nation were chiefly entrusted to the principal ministers of the Government of Yedo; such statesmen as Lords Abe, Hotta, Ii, and Ando having taken prominent parts. In the administration of foreign affairs these Ministers of State had the assistance of many junior officials who were specially selected for the posts; some because of their scholastic knowledge, and others on account of personal experience of foreigners with whom they had come in contact whilst stationed in open ports as resident officials. Although their work was severely criticised by contemporaries, as well as by later generations, it is an undeniable fact that many of them were in possession of qualities which would make diplomats of the highest order.

Important events, which greatly added to the arduous duties of the authorities concerned, soon made it necessary for the Government to appoint special ministers of foreign affairs, and such new office was created in 1858. Two years later the Foreign Ministers, Shinmi and Muragaki, were despatched to the United States as special envoys, this being the first diplomatic mission ever sent out to a Western Power. They were followed in the next year by two other officers in a similar position, who were sent to various Courts of Europe. In 1867 the Government initiated the office of the Principal Foreign Minister, and later that of the President of the Board of Foreign

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Ministers; but these new functionaires barely had time to discharge their duties before the downfall of the Tokugawa Government, and following it the triumphal entry of the present *régime*.

As an outcome of the Restoration of 1868, the Department of State for Foreign Affairs, or the Gaimusho, as our present Foreign Office is called, was established in the following year, thus originating the system which has come down to the present day. The administration of foreign affairs, like that of other affairs of state, was thereupon transferred from the hands of the Shōgun's ministers to the control of the new Government of the Emperor.

The next year saw the appointment of ministers who were of three grades, and also secretaries of legation of the senior and junior classes. A minister, Mr. Samejima, was sent to Europe to represent Japan at the Courts of Great Britain, France, and Russia; whilst another, Mr. Mori, was despatched to Washington to be our minister in the United States—these two envoys being the first representatives of the nation stationed abroad.

In 1871 a law was promulgated under which the Consular Service was also created, and the beginning of 1872 saw our first consulate established at Shanghai.

With the birth of our diplomatic headquarters in 1869, Count Sawa was appointed the first Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. The Count was one of the famous seven peers of the Kiōto Court who had a remarkable career in connection with the Restoration, and had rendered noble services to the cause of the Emperor. He was subsequently succeeded by another distinguished peer and patriot in the person of Prince Iwakura, who was sent to the United States, as well as to Europe in 1871, as special Ambassador.

The Prince was succeeded by Count Soyeshima, a diplomat of high character and profound erudition, whose much regretted death took place a few years ago. The Count presided over the Foreign Office for less than two years, resigning his portfolio in favour of Count Terashima, who held the office for over four years. Count Terashima was educated in this country and, prior to his appointment as the head of the Foreign Office, was for some time accredited to the Court of St. James'. He

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was succeeded in 1880 by Count Inouye, that veteran statesman whose name is so closely connected with the modern political history of Japan, and whose abilities, not merely as a tried diplomat but also as a great authority on financial matters, are highly appreciated by the nation.

Count Inouye was relieved of his office in 1887, Marquis Ito, who was then Prime Minister, assuming the charge of the Foreign Department until the appointment in the next year of Count Okuma. The new minister succeeded to an arduous task in connection with the revision of our treaties with other countries, which we found so detrimental to the interests of the nation—the burning question of that time which had taxed to the utmost the energies and abilities of his predecessors. Unluckily his efforts did not meet with the success they deserved. This unfortunate statesman was, moreover, the victim of a fanatic's attempt on his life, resulting in a very serious and permanent physical injury. The Count's life was, however, happily spared, and his distinguished name still remains a landmark in the home politics of Japan.

Viscount Aoki, who is the present ambassador to the United States, and Viscount Enomoto, the gallant and genial admiral who was one of the originators of the Imperial Navy, followed each other in succession as Minister for Foreign Affairs, each retaining the portfolio but for a brief period.

The late Count Mutsu succeeded Admiral Enomoto in 1892, and remained in office for three years. His renewed attempts to bring the treaty revision question to a fortunate issue were crowned with success, and the new series of treaties of commerce and navigation, which are in force at the present time, were concluded in the first instance with Great Britain, and soon afterwards with the United States—the other nations of Europe following in their wake. To him also was entrusted the conduct of foreign affairs, prior to the outbreak of the Chinese War in 1894, and he, together with the Marquis Ito, negotiated the peace at the Shimonoseki Conference which took place the following year, and which terminated the hostilities between the two neighbouring empires.

Count Mutsu was succeeded in turn by Marquis Saionji, the present Premier and President of the Constitutional League—the greatest political party in Japan; Count Okuma, who once

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more came to office; Baron Nishi, whose extensive diplomatic career includes many years' residence in St. Petersburg as our representative; Viscount Aoki; and Mr. Takaaki Kato, formerly the minister in London. Baron Komura succeeded Mr. Kato in 1901, and remained in office until last year, when the Katsura Cabinet tendered their resignation. Mr. Kato was now once more the Foreign Minister, but he did not remain in office more than a few months; the present Minister of Foreign Affairs and late ambassador to this country, Viscount Hayashi, having been appointed to succeed him. As to Baron Komura's work in connection with the alliance, which so happily exists between our two nations, as well as with the great war which was fortunately brought to an end by the Treaty of Portsmouth, these matters are of so recent a date that there is no necessity for my recalling them to your memory.

Thus we have seen that during the thirty-eight years which have elapsed since the establishment of the present Foreign Office we have had fifteen different Ministers of State presiding over the department, the many and varied affairs of high importance which came under the cognizance of that department making the office by no means a sinecure.

But to return to the organisation of our Diplomatic Service. After the establishment of the Gaimusho, in 1869, the number of legations and consulates abroad, as well as the officers belonging thereto, gradually increased, the sphere as well as the importance of their functions at the same time being extended by degrees. During the first score of years or so since the creation of the service, however, we saw no special change which would effect the general status of the organisation. But in 1893 a new system was introduced into the service which has had very far-reaching effects. For in the October of that year an important ordinance governing the appointment of diplomatic and consular officers was promulgated. As this law, although modified to a certain extent by later ordinances, forms the nucleus of the present system, it is necessary to dwell upon it at some length.

In the first place, it was decreed that no one who had not satisfactorily passed a diplomatic and consular examination should be appointed an officer in the service. The chief aim of the new law was to render the service entirely distinct from

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JAPANESE AND CHINESE DIPLOMATS.

MANCHURIAN TREATY NEGOTIATIONS, PEKING, 1905.

The seated figures are Yuan Shih Kai, Baron Komura, Prince Ching, Minister Uchida, and Chu Hung Chih.

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other branches of the administration, the reason obviously being to give to the service a more efficient and independent character. In doing this, the law separated even the members of the Foreign Office itself from those serving abroad, the former not being eligible for the latter, and *vice versâ*, except after having served for a certain number of years in their own department. It is true that an important exception was made in the case of ministers, for whom the ordinary rules were held to be unnecessary. This provision, however, did not play an important part in actual practice. For, although there have been a few isolated instances to the contrary, the great majority of ministers appointed since the law came into effect have been those who have by degrees climbed up the ladder of promotion, and finally attained this position. I may add that the tendency of the present time is entirely to exclude from the highest posts in the service those who have not previously had the valuable experience of minor posts; in fact, the importance which the service has assumed in recent years renders any other method both inadvisable and unwise.

The candidate for the diplomatic and consular examination, when making an application to the authorities concerned, must send in an essay in Japanese, together with its translation into a foreign language, on a given subject. The latter is usually an International Law theme, such, for example, as "Warlike actions of a belligerent in the waters of a neutral Power," the subject being previously advertised in the *Official Gazette* by the Board of Examiners, some of whom are the officers of the Foreign Office, while others are recruited from the outside, such as Professors in the Imperial University of Tōkyō. The essay being found satisfactory, the candidate is summoned to the examination, which is divided into two parts. The first consists of the following subjects:—

(1) Composition.
(2) Foreign languages.
(3) To write an epitome of certain official correspondence contained in copies of despatches given out to the candidate.
(4) To write out from memory the main points of a case narrated by the Examiner.

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While the second part of the examination comprises subjects as follows:—

(1) The Japanese Constitution.
(2) Administrative Laws.
(3) Political Economy.
(4) Public International Law.
(5) Private International Law.

And, in addition, one of the following seven subjects, which may be selected by the candidate, namely, criminal law, civil law, science of finance, commercial law, law of criminal procedure, law of civil procedure, and diplomatic history.

The candidate is examined both orally and also in writing, but unless he has satisfactorily passed the first part of the examination he is not admitted to the second. That the examination is carried out on very strict principles may be shown by the fact that only a very limited number of candidates are so fortunate as to receive appointments at the end of their ordeal. Thus, in the thirteen examinations held in the Gaimusho since the new law came into force in 1893, only sixty-one have been successful out of a total of two hundred and sixty-seven candidates. That the examination does not tend to become more lenient is shown by the fact that out of the forty-five candidates who submitted themselves to the examination in 1905—by far the greatest number in any one year—only five succeeded in attaining their object.

The candidates are generally either graduates of the more important public or private educational institutions in Japan, such as the Imperial University, the Higher Commercial College, the Waseda University, or else those who have been trained in the educational centres of Europe or America.

To-day, out of some one hundred and fifty members of the Foreign Office, being the total number of officers above the rank of the *Sōninkwan*, over sixty represent those who entered the department as the result of the competitive examination. Although none of the latter has as yet attained a higher position than that of secretary of embassy of the first class, or of consul-general, the system of the examination which has thus procured more than one-third of the whole personnel of the Foreign Office cannot but be said to have a material effect upon the constitution of the department.

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The candidate whose good fortune as well as intellectual qualifications have enabled him to pass the examination is appointed, in the first instance, either attaché to an embassy or legation, or *élève* consul to one of the consulates-general or consulates. A few years usually elapse before he is promoted to the rank of secretary of the third class, or that of consul, as the case may be. To enable an officer to climb up one step of the ladder of promotion, good and meritorious work for at least two or three years, often for a greater length of time, is indispensable, so that it takes some dozen years for an attaché to attain the position of a secretary of the first class. Then comes the rank of minister, which may be either Minister Resident or Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary; the newest as well as the highest of our diplomatic positions being that of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. It is needless to add that the ambition of every young diplomat to reach this high office is not always realized!

With the recent elevation of some of our legations to the rank of embassies, of which the change of status of our mission to London was the initial step taken by the Imperial Government, the office of Councillors of Embassy has been created. Under the new system they rank with full-fledged ministers.

Besides secretaries and attachés, interpreters are appointed to some embassies and legations; for instance, in St. Petersburg and Peking. Although their duties do not materially differ from those of the former officers, their essential requirement is in respect of their linguistic knowledge. Subordinate to the above-mentioned various officers of the Diplomatic and Consular Service are Chancellors, who are employed for duties of minor importance, and whose long and meritorious service may entitle them to become the heads of the Consular establishments. They enter the service by passing through a different examination from that of their senior colleagues, which comprises the following subjects: foreign languages, history, geography, elements of jurisprudence, mathematics, financial laws, together with one of the four following subjects, namely, public international law, private international law, political economy, or statistics relating to our imports and exports. Moreover, a recent law makes it imperative for the candidates to be graduates of an educational

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institution not lower in standard than the middle school, of which there are many in Japan.

The Gaimusho, the headquarters of the Japanese Diplomatic and Consular Service, is situated in the central part of our metropolis in the vicinity of the newly laid-out Hibiya Park, near the Imperial Palace and the Parliament building, also within easy reach of all the principal foreign embassies and legations. It is one of the oldest European buildings in the capital, and, although not of a very commanding aspect, still it may be considered a substantially built and not unimposing structure of two stories high. It looks at its best when the cherry trees, many of which adorn the extensive surrounding gardens, are covered with their soft pink and white blossoms and shine against the blue skies of mid-spring. In a part of the same grounds stands the official residence of the Foreign Minister, and several others occupied by officials of the department, whose duties make it necessary for them to be near their chief at all times, as, for example, his private secretary and the chief of the telegraph section.

The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, who presides over this department and whose duties are many and varied, receives material assistance at the hands of the vice-minister. Attached to the cabinet of the minister are several sections, namely, protocol and personnel, archives, correspondence, accounts, translation, telegraph, and of legal affairs, each of these being under the charge of the chief of the section. Besides this cabinet the department is in possession of two bureaus, the political and the commercial, each of which has a director at its head. Generally speaking, the former is the office where all diplomatic affairs are transacted, while the latter forms the channel through which consular matters are arranged. It is unnecessary to trouble the present meeting with the sub-divisions of these bureaus and sections. Suffice it to say that each one of them has its own distinct line of work to perform, and the time of its members is fully occupied. The personnel of the department, besides the above-mentioned officials, consists of several councillors, secretaries, private secretaries to the minister, translators, telegraph experts, and many clerks, etc., in all numbering, according to the statistics of 1906, some one hundred persons.

The salary of the minister is 6000 yen per annum, and that of

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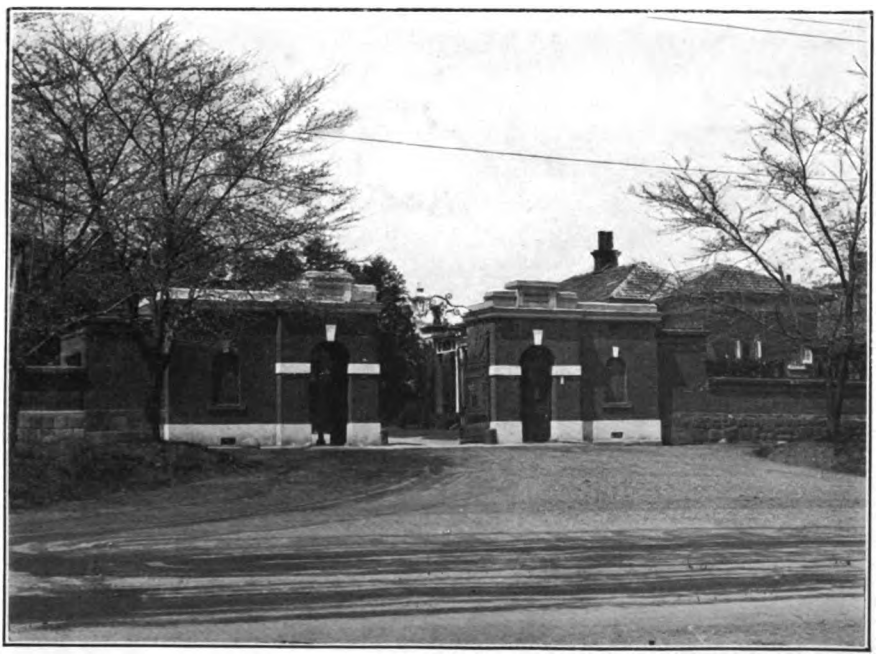
THE BRITISH EMBASSY, TŌKYO.
(GARDEN FRONT.)



ENTRANCE TO THE BRITISH EMBASSY, TŌKYO.

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the vice-minister 4000. The directors of the political and commercial bureaus, as well as the councillor of the highest rank, receive 3000 yen each, while secretaries, private secretaries, and translators are entitled to remuneration ranging from 2500 to 600, according to their respective rank and position. As to the salaries of clerks and others of the lower grade, their incomes are not of a very substantial character, the most advanced being entitled to only about 900 yen per annum, and the lowest receiving even less than 200 yen. While the incomes of the officials of the department are thus limited, consideration should be given to the fact that money in Japan goes a much longer way than in Europe or America, although the cost of living in our country is becoming gradually higher. Moreover, in view of the fact that Government posts are looked upon in Japan as a highly honourable profession, the slenderness of the pay should by no means prevent the Diplomatic and Consular Service from being recruited by well-qualified as well as most creditable members.

So much for the personnel of the department in Tōkyō. I now pass on to our diplomatic and consular establishments abroad. To begin with, there are at present six embassies—in Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and the United States. In Russia, Holland, Mexico, Belgium, Sweden, Spain, Brazil, Siam, and China we have legations, each of which is presided over by an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, except in the case of Brazil, where we have a minister resident. Japan is also represented in Denmark, Portugal, Switzerland, Norway, and Peru by our ministers who are accredited to the Powers within comparatively short distances from these countries; for example, our minister in Madrid represents Japan also at the Portuguese Court.

With regard to the officials who constitute the staffs of different *chefs de mission*, there are, to begin with, councillors who are, as I stated before, only appointed to embassies, and then come secretaries of the three classes, who in turn are followed by attachés and chancellors.

In Great Britain, Russia, France, Germany, the United States, and China we have at present both military and naval attachés; while in Italy we have only a naval attaché, and in Austria a military attaché.

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A new departure has recently been made by the Finance Department of the Imperial Government in appointing to the embassy in London a Financial Attaché. The financial responsibilities we have lately assumed in this and other countries of Europe and the United States, as well as the development of our financial relations with Occidental Powers, have made it necessary for the Imperial Government to station such an official in this the greatest money market of the world.

I now come to the Consular Service. The highest officials in this service are consuls-general, who are followed by consuls, commercial agents, *élève* consuls, vice-consuls, and chancellors. At present we have consulates-general in London, Ottawa, New York, Honolulu, Sydney, Calcutta, Shanghai (with a branch at Nangking), Tientsin, Harbin, and Mukden (with branches at Tiehling, Chang-chun, Shinminton, and Liaoyang), whilst we have consulates at the following posts: Vancouver, San Francisco, Chicago, Seattle (with a branch at Portland), Lyons, Antwerp, Odessa, Hongkong, Singapore, Bombay, Manila, Townsville, Chefoo, Soochow, Hang-chow, Foochow, Shasi, Newchang, Amoy (with a branch at Swatow), Hankow, Chong-king, Canton, Antong, and Kirin. A commercial agent is stationed at Vladivostock. Vice-consuls and *élève* consuls are attached to consulates-general or consulates to assist their senior officials, or else they are appointed to take charge of branch consulates or consulates of minor importance. In some establishments, like those in China, we have interpreters and also police sergeants, the latter having duties in connection with the consular jurisdiction over our own people residing in those districts. Besides the above-mentioned consular ports, presided over by regular officers *de carrière*, we have many honorary consulates in various parts of the world, the officers in charge of them generally being natives of the countries wherein such consulates are situated. In Glasgow, Middlesborough, Liverpool, Manchester, Colombo, New Orleans, Mobile, Boston, Galveston, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Melbourne, Adelaide, New Zealand, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Havre, Berlin, Bremen, Munich, Frankfort-am-Main, Brussels, Venice, Naples, Messina, Palermo, Genoa, Milan, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Trieste, Vienna, Lima, Zurich, Copenhagen, Buenos Ayres, Stockholm, Göteborg, and St. Petersburg, such consulates are located. With the

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exception of one or two, these honorary consulates have no Japanese officials attached, but a few of these foreign members of our service have some knowledge of our language, which no doubt facilitates the performance of their duties. Consular reports are published in the daily issues of the *Official Gazette.* They also form a special periodical publication compiled by the Commercial Bureau of the Foreign Office.

The remuneration of the diplomatic and consular officers are divided into two parts, namely, the salary proper and the allowance for residence in foreign countries, which, of course, is only granted while they reside abroad. The latter by far exceeds the former, and varies according to the posts. Thus, an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary receives salaries varying from 3000 to 4000 yen per annum, while their extra allowances abroad range from 8000 yen in Bangkok to 22,000 in St. Petersburg. The income of a councillor of embassy and a minister resident is practically the same, while that of an ambassador is naturally higher. The salary of our ambassador to the United States, for example, is 5000 yen per annum, while he is entitled to an extra allowance of 30,000 yen. Secretaries of the first class receive salaries ranging from 1800 to 2500 yen, and their allowances vary from 3200 to 7000, according to the different countries in which they are stationed. Secretaries of the second and third classes are entitled to salaries of 1000 to 2200 yen as well as allowances of 2000 to 5800 yen. Attachés receive salaries of 600 to 1400 yen and allowances from 1500 to 3800. The salaries of consuls-general vary from 1800 to 2500 yen, while their allowances are from 4500 to 8000 yen, according to their posts. Consuls, *élève* consuls, and vice-consuls are entitled to salaries ranging from 600 to 2200 yen, together with allowances varying from 1200 yen, to which an *élève* consul is entitled at Chongking, to 7000 yen for a consul in London. Councillors of embassies or secretaries of embassies or legations, when *charges d'affaires*, naturally receive special allowances for their extra duties; so, too, when junior officers of the Consular Service temporarily take charge of consulates during the absence of their senior officers. All honorary consuls are unpaid.

There are certain members of the Diplomatic and Consular Service who are on the waiting list, that is to say, at home

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pending appointments abroad on account of official or personal reasons. The majority of them are, however, temporarily employed by the department in Tōkyō, in which case they are entitled to the full amount of their salaries—otherwise only to a part of the same. Moreover, there is a regulation to the effect that the names of such officers may permanently be removed from the service at the end of five years, a contingency which, fortunately, does not frequently occur.

After a residence abroad of three or four years, according to posts, a member of the service is entitled to ask for leave of absence and to return home, although the permission is not always forthcoming.

Except in the above-mentioned case of honorary consuls, there are at present practically no foreigners in the Diplomatic and Consular Service of Japan, although there were several in former days. I must not, however, fail to mention one important exception, namely, Mr. H. W. Denison, the American lawyer, who has occupied his post in the Foreign Office for the last thirty years, and who has rendered most valuable service to the successive Foreign Ministers as well as to the Government. Indeed, on account of his long service in the Gaimusho, he is looked upon as a sort of living encyclopædia of our modern diplomatic affairs, and also as a kind of an American *edition de luxe* of Will Adams of the Meiji era!

Korea having become a *protégée* of our Government as the result of recent important changes in the Far East, the administration of her foreign affairs was transferred to Tōkyō from Seoul. As a consequence, our legation in the Korean capital has been withdrawn, the foreign Governments which were diplomatically represented in that country having taken similar steps. In the place of the legation we now have the residency-general with the most prominent veteran statesman of Japan, Marquis Ito, at its head, and in place of the consulates several residencies have been established. The functions of the Resident-General being, however, of a wider scope than those of an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, they come only partially under the control and jurisdiction of the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Under the new law which was recently promulgated the administration in that part of Manchuria which is under our

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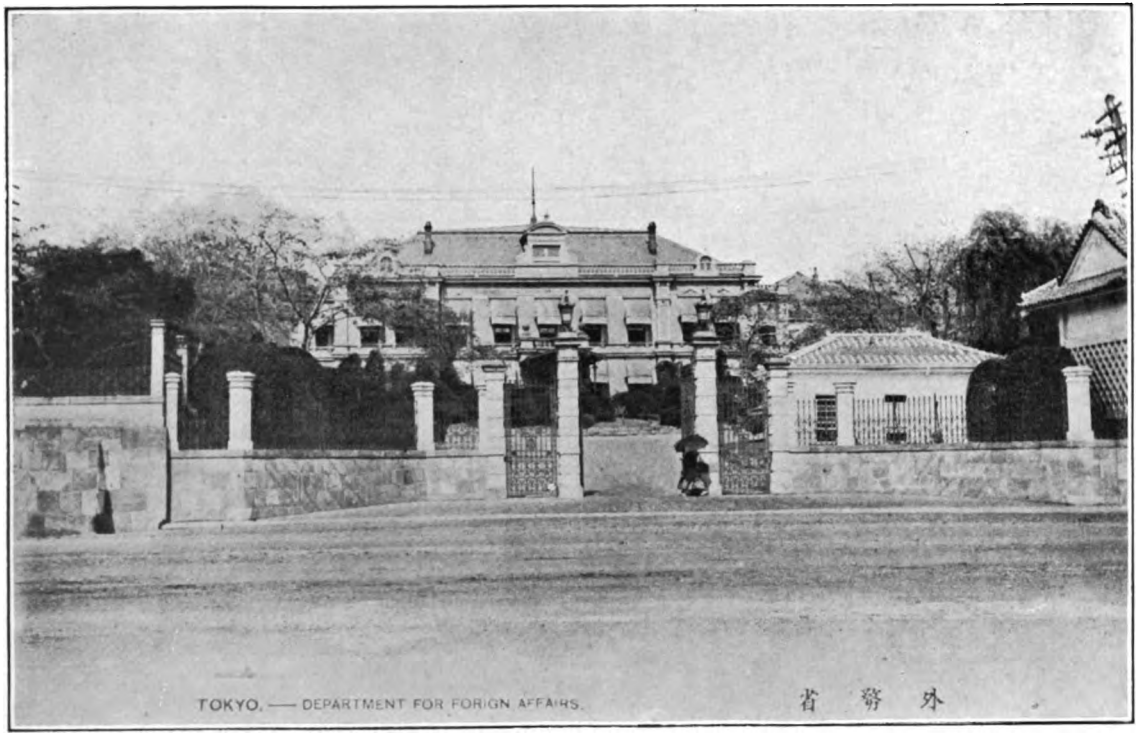

THE FOREIGN OFFICE, TŌKYO.

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jurisdiction has now also come, to a certain extent, under the cognizance of our Minister for Foreign Affairs, thereby adding to his functions considerable responsibility in view of the fact that there is naturally much in that administration which must engage the close and careful attention of the Government for many years to come.

Thus far I have endeavoured to trace the development of our Diplomatic and Consular Service, and to state briefly the system as it stands to-day. You may have noticed that after all our present organization does not materially differ from similar institutions in other countries. Nevertheless, the Japanese Service is not without some specific features, one or two points of which I shall now briefly mention.

To begin with, our service is very democratic in its embodiment. As I said before, members of the service are selected from those who have satisfactorily passed through the competitive examinations. The examinations are open alike to all subjects of Japan, regardless of their status of birth or property qualifications. Although a similar system may be said to prevail in other countries, at all events in principle, one finds that in many services abroad members of the aristocracy and the wealthy classes are predominant, whilst with our service there are but a very few representatives of the peerage or of the opulent classes. The personnel which constitutes our service may, therefore, be said to be representatives of the nation in the truer and more typical sense of the word than is the case with the services of other countries. They may certainly not be the hot-house blooms of the land; but, at the same time, I hope that they may not be considered as merely the common weeds of the nation! The system of non-exclusiveness prevails in this as in all other public services of Japan, and, although such a system may entail some defects and inconveniences, one cannot deny that it possesses many merits and advantages.

The free interchange of members belonging to the Diplomatic and Consular Service is another feature, the two not being so separate and distinct as is the case in other countries. They are recruited from the same stock, and they enter the service by the same route, no precedence being given to the one over the other. According to some opinions, however, a distinct separation of the two services would be to their mutual advantage. After

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all, the duties assigned to the officers in the two services differ so materially that their trainings should perhaps be different also. It has even been said, though I hope erroneously, that diplomats are sent abroad to tell lies about their countries, while consular officers should speak nothing but the naked truth!

Then we are, as a nation, poor linguists. Fluency in foreign languages is by no means our *forte*. Very few of my compatriots are good speakers even in our own tongue. Brought up for centuries in a society where volubility and a ready tongue were considered as an equivalent to lightness of character, and where the art of eloquence was but little cultivated, it is, perhaps, too much to expect that we can distinguish ourselves in this respect without long experience and assiduous labours for some generations to come. This difficulty is enhanced by the nature of our own language, the use of which is practically confined to our fatherland, and which entails the imperative necessity for expressing ourselves in alien tongues. Thus, a British consul or a French diplomat, for example, can use his own language to a great extent even in official communications to the Government to which he is accredited, but a Japanese officer is unable to make such use of his own language, and is compelled to express himself in the language of the nation where he is stationed. So long as Japanese is not understood more widely than at the present time, this will remain one of the paramount difficulties of our service.

Another point is that there are great differences in the modes of life. Many nationalities when going abroad take their homes with them and live in their own style. But when we come to foreign countries we naturally have to adapt ourselves to their mode of life. We have sometimes been given credit regarding our ability of assimilating with strangers, but perhaps the efforts, and in some cases sacrifices, are not sufficiently realised and appreciated. In the case of women the difficulties become still greater, and this is one of the chief reasons why so many of our diplomatic and consular missions abroad remain mere bachelor quarters, and this in spite of the fact that the Government give some encouragement by granting a certain allowance as well as travelling expenses for the wives of our diplomats and consular officers who accompany their husbands

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abroad. Moreover, Japanese women are essentially the mistresses of their homes as well as the guardians of their children and the old members of their households, so that long absence from their homeland is not conducive to the good management of their natural duties. In the matter of the education of children especially, Japanese training is a matter of impossibility outside our own country—the difficulties being by no means limited to the schools in San Francisco! When we take into consideration these and other reasons of a similar nature, it is, perhaps, an unavoidable circumstance that we do not see more ladies abroad to assist the poor male inhabitants of our diplomatic and consular establishments.

The path of diplomacy in Japan, as in many other nations, has not been strewed with roses, but, on the contrary, has abounded with knotty points and thorns and briars of all sorts. Considering the fact that we have such a short history of diplomacy, having only emerged less than half a century ago from a state of seclusion, it may truly be said that we have had our full share of trials and hardships. The difficulties and drawbacks we have had to steer through, however, have by no means prevented our diplomacy from securing some important achievements. The nation owes to the diplomats of early days a great debt of gratitude, who, having but a very limited knowledge of foreign affairs, and labouring under most severely handicapped and unappreciated circumstances, were compelled to face the most precarious questions, such as those relating to Sakhalin and Loochoo, as well as the opening up of the country, and nevertheless succeeded in maintaining the dignity as well as the integrity of their fatherland. Then there were successes in connection with the great work of the treaty revision—a task which taxed the brains of our diplomats for over a quarter of a century, until it was crowned with the success of 1894. During the last thirteen years it has been the ill-starred fortune of Japan, as well as her onerous duty, to wage the two greatest wars of modern times. Although the necessity of our having recourse to belligerent measures may hardly be regarded as an evidence of diplomatic successes, one cannot deny the fact that there is much assiduous and anxious work connected with the handling of such momentous questions. In connection with the Chinese campaign of 1894–1895, and again during the late

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Russian war, the abilities of Japanese diplomats have indeed been tested to the utmost. It is hardly necessary to recall your attention to the latest but not the least important fruit of our diplomacy, namely, the conclusion of the Treaty of Alliance which so happily exists between our two countries, binding with special links of friendship the two great nations of the Occident and the Orient.

Needless to say, these and other fortunate results have not been achieved without their costs and sacrifices. The march of diplomacy, not being heralded by the flourish of trumpets, is not always apparent to outsiders, and indeed, far from meeting with appreciation and encouragement, is frequently even assailed and abused. Fortunately, however, at home the nation is beginning to attach to it the importance which is its due, and outside the country the diplomacy of Japan is now a voice which can secure a hearing from other members of the family of nations.

In view also of the facts that we have so much responsibility as well as interest in our relations with the neighbouring nations of China and Korea, that the volume of our trade with foreign countries has increased nearly three times in the last ten years, and that the number of our own people making their homes abroad has likewise more than trebled in the same length of time, there is ample reason to believe that the Diplomatic and Consular Service of Japan will gradually continue to increase in importance. Heavy tasks and onerous duties no doubt await it. There may also be many a shortcoming and matters in which improvement can be made, but no one can refuse to accord it credit for what it has already accomplished in past years, and we confidently hope that the service may prove itself not unworthy to be entrusted with the responsibilities of future days.

At the conclusion of the paper, which was illustrated with views on the epidiascope, the CHAIRMAN said he proposed to make a slight alteration in the proceedings that evening, as Count Mutsu was obliged to leave early, owing to another appointment.

The alteration he proposed was to postpone the discussion until after the vote of thanks, so that if Count Mutsu felt he had to go, he might not leave without a due sense of the Meeting's appreciation.

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The CHAIRMAN then called upon Sir Albert Rollit to propose a vote of thanks.

Sir ALBERT ROLLIT (*Member of Council, J.S.*) said whatever discussion might follow, there would be no discussion upon the proposal which he had been asked to submit to the Meeting, namely, that all paid their most hearty thanks to Count Mutsu for the admirable paper, so able, so well told, and so exceedingly well illustrated, and conveying a vast amount of information.

After remarking on the interest afforded by the study of the transplantation of names and expressions from one language to another, he went on to say that a great deal had been said about diplomacy that evening. Unfortunately, diplomacy suffered both from its name and from a want of definition. The term signified "double dealing." One did not like to have to do with a double dealer, one preferred to deal with the "newer diplomacy," which had some regard for truth. Talleyrand summed up diplomacy when he said "language was made to conceal thoughts," in other words, lying; there was no middle term. On the other hand, Count Mutsu referred to "lying abroad." When Sir Henry Wootton defined an ambassador as "an honest man sent to *lie* abroad," he probably meant *living* abroad. He heartily agreed with the lecturer when he said that the new diplomacy consisted in a desire for truth and for peace. This was certainly illustrated in Japan. Diplomacy had done very little in the past, and very often diplomatists made wars when their mission was peace and to avoid lies.

Passing from diplomatists, Sir ALBERT ROLLIT spoke of consuls. There was no branch of the diplomatic service more important to the nation than good consuls. Their historical lineage was great, dating even from Roman times, and the destinies of nations were held largely in the hands of their consuls. He was extremely pleased to hear how consuls were trained in Japan. We loved the alliance which was now indicated by the two flags; we welcomed the advance of West and East; we welcomed it because we knew that the alliance was to help to promote the peace of Europe. There lay before it the greatest commercial duty which any age had ever seen. The 19th century had been the age of the development of the Atlantic; the twentieth century would be the development of the Pacific, the exploitation of China, and in that work it was for the welfare of mankind that Japan and France and England should march hand-in-hand, and make the world more liberal than it had ever been before.

Colonel THORNTON (*Member of Council, J.S.*) said he did not think that after what they had heard he would detain Count Mutsu any longer. He had learnt more that evening than he had ever thought possible, and had great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks.

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The vote was carried with acclamation.

Count MUTSU thanked the speakers most heartily for the kind words in which the vote had been put forward. In spite of the cordial proposals, however, he could not help thinking that his paper contained much to claim the indulgence of the Meeting, a fact which prompted him to consider that the influence of the Japan Society had imbued its members with one of the characteristics attributed to the Japanese people—namely, endurance and fortitude!

The CHAIRMAN asked if there were any amongst the audience who would like to put some question to Count Mutsu while he was still present, upon some point in his paper not understood at the time.

Mr. ERNEST PLATT, M.J.S., asked how many political parties there were in Japan, and whether these were in any way to be compared with our Liberals and Conservatives.

Count MUTSU said there were two principal parties, and also some other minor ones.

Miss DE LOREZ, M.J.S., having said a few words, the CHAIRMAN said, there seemed to be an absence of discussion that evening, for the reason that no one found anything to discuss. All were disciples sitting at Count Mutsu's feet.

It might be mentioned that the paper just heard was perhaps not only the most faithful account, but the only account, of the consular service of Japan ever given.

It was likely to serve a useful purpose in a minor respect. It gave an opportunity of stating publicly from the Chair that evening, that this Society was not a part of the diplomatic or other service of Japan! For instance, he remembered, in the days when he used to attend the Society more, seeing letters from people who evidently thought that their Library was in some way a branch of the Japanese Legation. Anxious parents and guardians used to write on behalf of sons and nephews to know how they could get them into the Japanese consular service.

It was also most wonderful the hazy idea people seemed to have of the duties and responsibilities of the service, which fact would, no doubt, be still better illustrated in letters received at the Embassy itself. Very few people even knew the difference between an ambassador and a minister, and certainly they had very vague notions as to the duties incumbent upon holders of those high posts.

He remembered once receiving a letter from a lady, asking him in his private capacity to induce the Japanese Minister, whom she called the Ambassador, to give away the prizes at a dog show! The document

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ended with the request that he would also persuade His Excellency to perform the ceremony in uniform, or, failing that, in Japanese national costume!

In conclusion, he would like to say what a great delight it had been to him that evening to be present at the paper read by the oldest Japanese friend but one he possessed.

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